

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
RUSSIAN  
EMPIRE

UNDER  
*PETER THE GREAT,*

By M. de VOLTAIRE.

VOL. II.



LONDON.

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# P R E F A C E

To the HISTORY of the

## Emperor Peter the Great.



THE empire of Russia is, in our time, become of such weight in Europe, as renders the history of Peter, the real founder of that grandeur, still more interesting: it is he who has given a new face to the North; and since his time, his nation has been near giving a turn to the fate of Germany; and notwithstanding the immense distances of places, its influence has extended itself over France and Spain. The

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A

establish-

establishment of this empire is perhaps the epocha of the greatest importance to Europe, next to the discovery of the new world. It is purely this, which has induced the author of the first part of the history of Peter the Great, to publish the second.

There are some faults in the first volume, which it is proper should be made known to the reader.

Page 8. After these words, *one shall hardly meet with a mountain on the road through independent Tartary, add along the plains of the Calmucks, and the vast desert of Cobi.*

Page 14. *At the junction, read the mouth.*

Page 30. *Red Russia, read also a part of Red Russia.*

It is, besides, proper to inform superficial critics, that Volhinia, Podolia,



lia, and some neighbouring countries, have, by all geographers, been called *Red Russia*.

Page 65. The editor, misled by the want of a cypher in the manuscript, has put down in letters, *seventy-two thousand bondsmen of monks*, instead of *seven hundred and twenty thousand*.

Page 73. After these words, *the epocha when first the Greek church was established in Russia*, instead of what follows, read, *Chrisoberg, patriarch of Constantinople, sent a bishop to baptize Wolodomir, with a view of adding this part of the world to his patriarchate. Thus Wolodomir finished the work begun by his grandfather. A Syrian, named Michael, was the first metropolitan in Russia, &c.*

Page 80. *While he considered the Jesuits as dangerous politicians*, it may be

added, that the Jesuits, who had introduced themselves into Russia in 1685, were expelled in 1689, and that having again crept in, they were again driven out in 1718.

Page 99. *Daughter of the secretary Nariskin*, read *daughter of the secretary Apraxin*.

Page 325. *Pennamunde*, read *Dunamund*.

The epithet of *small* may be left to the country of Orenburg; this government, indeed, being small in comparison of Siberia, on which it borders. A *bearskin* may be substituted in lieu of the *sheepskin*, which, according to several travellers, is worshipped by the Ostiaks. If these good folks pay their worship to what is most useful to them, the fur of a bear is still a more adorable object than a sheepskin,

skin, and he who insists on such trifles, may be suspected of having an ass's skin.

Whether the vessels built by Czar Peter I. were or were not called *half-galleys*; whether Peter lived at first in a wooden or brick house; such things I hold to be quite insignificant.

There are, I own, some things less unworthy the attention of a judicious reader; for instance, it is said in the first volume, that the natives of Kamtschatka have no manner of religion. Some recent memoirs inform me, that these rude people have also their divines, who make the inhabitants of this peninsula to be originated from a kind of superior being, to whom they give the name of *Kouthou*. These memoirs add, that they pay no kind of worship to him,



and that they neither love nor fear him.

Thus they have a mythology, and no religion: this may be true, though little probable, fear being a natural quality in man. It is said that amidst their absurdities, they have a distinction of things permitted, and things prohibited; the former is to gratify every passion; among things prohibited, is the whetting a knife, or sharpening a hatchet, when on a journey, and to save a man who is drowning. If they really account the saving a neighbour's life a crime, they herein differ from all other men, who instinctively run to succour their fellow-creatures, unless this natural inclination be suppressed by interest or passion: certainly an action so common and so necessary as not to be  
any

any thing of a virtue, could never be deemed a crime, but through a philosophy equally false and superstitious, by which they were made to believe, that Providence is not to be withstood, and that a man whom heaven has appointed to be drowned, is not to be saved by another person; but Barbarians are very far from having so much as a false philosophy.

Yet they are said to have one solemn festival, which receives its name from a word in their language signifying *purification*. But, from what should they purify themselves, if every thing be permitted to them? And if they neither fear, nor love their god *Kou-thou*, what need have they of any purification?

There are, unquestionably, inconsistencies in their notions, which is the

case of those of most nations; theirs are owing to a want of genius, ours flow from an abuse of it; we have a great many more than they, because we reason much more.

As they have a kind of god, so are they also not without their demons. And even forcerers are to be found among them, as there have also been among all nations, even the most civilized and polished. The dealers in these mysteries in Kamtschatka, are old women, as they were among us, till natural philosophy taught us better. Thus it is, universally, the appendage of the human mind to be infested with absurd notions, arising from our curiosity and our weakness. The Kamtschatkians have also prophets, who interpret dreams; and it is not so very long since they have no more been heard of among us, On



On the reduction of these people, the court of Russia, besides building five fortresses in their kingdom, ordered the Greek religion to be promulgated among them. A Russian gentleman, whose information may be depended on, told me, that one of their principal objections was, that this worship could not be made for them, since bread and wine are necessary in the celebration of our most exalted mystery, and their country produces neither.

These people, in other respects, afford little matter of observation; and I shall make only one, which is, that on a survey of three fourths of America, of all the south part of Africa, of the north from Lapland to the Japanese Ocean, half mankind will appear to be not at all superior to the people of Kamschatka.

It

## P R E F A C E

It may not be amiss to take notice, that the celebrated geographer De l'Isle called this country Kamtschat. We usually omit the *Ka* and the *Kay*, which so often terminate Russian names; and the Italians do the like.

There is an article of another kind of importance, by which the honour of crowns may be affected. Olearius, who in 1634 was in the retinue of the Holstein envoys going to Russia and Persia, relates in the third book of his history, that the Czar Ivan Basilowitz had sent an ambassador of the emperor into Siberia, as a delinquent. This is a fact, of which no other historian, to my knowledge, has made the least mention; and it is not at all likely, that the emperor would have overlooked a violation of the law of nations, so very shocking and extraordinary.

The

The same Olearius says, in another place, “ we set out on the 13th of  
“ February, 1634, in company with  
“ an ambassador from France, named  
“ Charles de Talleraud, and prince of  
“ Chalais, &c. Lewis XIII. had sent  
“ him and James Roussel on an em-  
“ bassy into Turkey and Muscovy; but  
“ his colleague did him such ill turns  
“ with the patriarch, that the great  
“ duke banished him into Siberia.”

In the third book, he says, that this ambassador, the prince of Chalais, and Roussel, a merchant by profession, were sent by Henry IV. Now as this excellent prince was assassinated in 1610, it is sufficiently probable that he did not send an embassy to Muscovy in 1634. If Lewis XIII. had sent on an embassy a person of so illustrious a family as that of Talleraud, he would never have imposed



imposed on him a merchant for colleague; his embassy would have been known to Europe; and the singular outrage done to the king of France, would have still made more noise.

Having disputed this incredible fact in the first volume, and seeing that Olearius's fable had met with some belief, I thought it my duty to apply for information to the office for foreign affairs in France; and here follows what gave rise to Olearius's mistake.

There was indeed a person of the house of Talleraud, who being extremely fond of travelling, went to Turkey, without acquainting his family of his intention, or desiring any letters of recommendation, and happened to fall in with a Dutch merchant, named Roussel, agent to a trading company, and not  
unknown

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unknown to the French ministry. The marquis de Talleraud kept company with him, in order to go and see Persia ; but the two travellers falling out by the way, Rouffel falsely accused him to the patriarch of Moscow, and he was indeed ignominiously sent into Siberia. He, however, found means to inform his family of his calamitous condition, and about three years after Mr. Des Noyers, secretary of state, obtained his discharge from the court of Moscow.

This is the true state of the fact, and which I have inserted, only as it may put the reader on his guard against the multitude of anecdotes of this kind related by travellers.

There are historical errors, and there are also historical lies. What Olearius relates is only a mistake ; but

to say, that one of the Czars ordered an ambassador's hat to be nailed to his head, is a lie. To be mistaken in the number and strength of the ships of a naval armament, to give a country more or less extent than it really has, this is only an error, and a very excusable error. They who repeat the ancient fables, in which the origin of all nations is wrapped up, may be, indeed, accused of a weakness, common to all the writers of antiquity; but this is not lying, it is only transcribing tales.

Inadvertency also leads us into many faults, for which a lie would be too harsh an appellation. If in Hubner's new geography we find the limits of Europe placed at the entrance of the river Oby into the Black Sea, and that Europe has thirty millions of inhabit-



# P R E F A C E. xv

inhabitants; these are oversights which every intelligent reader immediately rectifies. This geographer often talks of large and populous cities, but which now are only mean desolate towns; it is easy in this case to see that time has changed the whole; the author consulted ancient writers, and what was true in their time, is no longer so at present.

Writers, sometimes, run into mistakes in drawing inferences. Peter the Great suppressed the patriarchate; Hubner adds, that he declared himself patriarch: some supposititious anecdotes of Russia go still farther, and say, that he actually officiated in that quality; thus, which indeed is but too common, erroneous conclusions are drawn from a certain fact.

What I have called an historical lie,  
is

is still more common ; it is what has been invented through adulation, satire, or a love of the marvellous. The historian, who, to ingratiate himself with a powerful family, praises a tyrant, is a venal wretch ; he who aims at blasting the memory of a good prince, is a monster ; and the romancer who vends his imaginations as truths, is despised ; he whose fables were formerly held in veneration by whole nations, would not, in our days, be read by the populace.

There are critics still greater liars, who falsify passages, or who do not understand them, who, prompted by envy, ignorantly carp at useful works : these are vipers gnawing the file ; e'en let them go on.

T A B L E



# T A B L E

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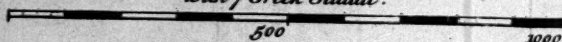


# THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN ASIA

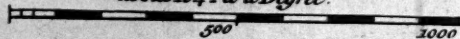
BY THE S<sup>r</sup> D'ANVILLE  
of the Royal Academy of Belles-  
lettres, and of the Academy of  
Sciences at Petersburg, 1759.

This Part of the Russian Empire  
is divided into three departments,  
which from the European Limits  
are reckon'd from West to East,  
**TOBOLSK IENISEISK IRKUTSK.**

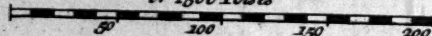
Wersts, or common Russian Miles, compar'd  
with 7 Greek Stadia.



Wersts, fix'd at 500 Sazer of Russia, &  
about 104 1/2 to a Degree.



French Leagues of 3000 Geometrical Paces  
or 2500 Toises







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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Russian Empire,  
UNDER  
PETER THE GREAT.



Part the Second.



CHAPTER I.

*The campaign on the river Pruth.*

SULTAN Achmet III. declared war against Peter I. not indeed with a view of serving the king of Sweden, but to promote his own interests. The

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khan

## 2 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

khan of Crim Tartary was apprehensive of so formidable a neighbour. The Port had taken umbrage at his ships on the Palus Mæotis, and on the Black Sea; at his fortifying the town of Asoph, and opening the famous harbour of Taganroc; in short, at such a series of victories, and at his ambition, which is naturally increased by successes.

It is neither true, nor in the least probable, that the Port waged war against the Czar on the banks of the Palus Mæotis, merely because a Swedish ship had seized a small vessel on the Baltic, on board of which had been found a letter of a certain minister, whose name has been hitherto kept a profound secret. Norberg \* pre-

\* Norberg's account of the grand seignor's pretensions is equally false and puerile; he says, that sultan Achmet acquainted the Czar with the conditions on which he would conclude a peace *with that prince*, before he declared war against him. These conditions, according to the relation of the confessor of Charles XII. were, that the Czar should renounce his alliance with king Augustus; should reinstate Stanislaus; should restore Livonia to Charles, and indemnify him, in ready money, for the losses he had sustained at Pultowa; and lastly, that Petersburg should be demolished. This account was forged by one Brazey, an indigent author, who wrote the paper, intitled, *Memoirs satyrical, historical, and entertaining*. Norberg drew from this spring. This father-confessor does not seem to have been intimate with Charles XII.

tends,

## CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH. 3

tends, that this letter contained a plan of the conquest of the Turkish empire; that it was carried to Charles XII. in Turkey; that Charles sent it to the divan, and that this was the cause of war being declared by the Turks. The absurdity of this fable appears at first sight. The khan of the Tartars, having conceived a much greater umbrage than the divan of Constantinople, at the works erected in the neighbouring town of Asoph, was the person at whose instigation the Ottoman army was ordered to take the field.

Livonia had not been as yet intirely reduced under the obedience of the Czar, when Achmet III. resolved on a declaration of war against Russia in the month of August. Scarce was it possible for him to have heard of the surrender of Riga. To insist on the reimbursing of the king of Sweden for all the damages that prince had sustained at the action of Pultowa, would have been a most ridiculous notion, as that of demanding the demolition of Petersburg would have been wild and extravagant.



#### 4 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

travagant. Charles's behaviour at Bender was pretty romantic; but the Turks would have acted in a still more romantic manner than Charles, had they insisted on such conditions.

The \* khan of the Tartars, the great promoter of this war, went to pay a visit to Charles in his retreat. These two princes were united by the same interests, Asoph being situated on the frontiers of little Tartary. They two had been the greatest sufferers by the Czar's aggrandizement. But this khan had not the *supreme* command of the Turkish army; he resembled those feudatory princes of Germany, who serve the empire with their own troops, subordinate however to the general in chief of the Imperial army.

The † first step the divan took, was to cause Tolstoy, the Czar's ambassador, to be arrested in the public streets of Constantinople, and to be committed, together with thirty of his domestics, to the castle of the *Seven Towers*. A cu-

\* Nov. 10. † Nov. 17.

from

# CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH. 5

from so barbarous, and which the very savages would blush at, proceeds from this: that there are generally foreign ministers who reside constantly at the Ottoman port, whereas the Turks never send any ambassadors in ordinary to other courts. They consider the ambassadors of Christian princes, only as consuls of merchants; and holding the Christians in the same contempt as the Jews, they do not so much as treat them according to the law of nations, except when necessity obliges them to it; at least, they have hitherto persisted in this ferocious insolence.

The celebrated vizir Achmet Couprogli, who made the conquest of Candia in the reign of Mahomet IV. had behaved in an outrageous manner to the French ambassador's son, and even carried his brutality so far, as, after striking him, to commit him to prison; yet Lewis XIV. proud as he was, shewed no other resentment for this affront, than that of sending another minister to the Port. Notwithstanding that Christian princes are so extremely

## 6 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

delicate among themselves, in regard to the point of honour, and even have made it an article of the public law, they seem totally to overlook it in treating with the Turks.

Never was sovereign more offended in the person of his ministers, than the Czar of Muscovy. Within the space of a few years, his ambassador at the court of London was imprisoned for debt; his plenipotentiary in Poland and Saxony was broke upon the wheel by order of the king of Sweden; his minister to the Port was seized and imprisoned at Constantinople like a common malefactor.

The queen of England, as we have observed, made him satisfaction for the outrage committed at London. The atrocious affront he received by the *inhuman* treatment of Patkul, was effaced by Swedish blood at the battle of Pultowa; but it was never his good fortune to chastise the Turks for violating the law of nations.

The \* Czar was obliged to quit the seat

\* Jan. 1711.

of



## CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH. 7

of war in the western part of his dominions, in order to go and fight on the *Turkish frontiers*. He began with ordering ten regiments to advance from Poland towards Moldavia \*; and after he had directed marshal Sheremetoff to march from Livonia with the body of troops under his command, and left prince Menzikoff at the head of affairs in Petersburg, he set out himself for Moscow, to give orders for the ensuing campaign.

A certain number of senators † having been appointed to administer the regency in the Czar's absence, he ordered the regiment of guards to begin their march, and the young nobility to come and learn the rudiments of the military art under his command, some as cadets, and others as subaltern officers. At the same time admiral Apraxin went to Asoph, in order to command both the land and sea forces in that neighbourhood. All these measures having been concerted, the Czar issued out

\* It is very strange that so many authors should confound Walachia and Moldavia.

† 18 Jan. 1711.

## 8 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

orders for acknowledging a new Czarina, which was the very same person who had been made prisoner of war at Marienburg in 1702. This prince had, in 1696, repudiated his wife Eudoxia Lapouchin, by whom he had two children. The canons of his church permit divorce; and had it been prohibited, he would have passed a law to render it lawful.

The young captive of Marienburg, who had been named Catharine, was superior to her sex, as well as to her misfortunes. Her behaviour had rendered her so agreeable, that the Czar would always have her near his person; she attended him in his travels, and in his most toilsome expeditions, sharing his fatigues, and soothing his cares with the cheerfulness of her disposition and complaisant behaviour: she was quite a stranger to all that fastuous pomp and ceremony, which the rest of the sex have now converted into a real necessity. But what rendered her a more extraordinary favourite, was, her neither being envied nor opposed; nor was  
any

## CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH. 9

any other person sacrificed to make room for her promotion. Often did she appease the emperor's wrath, and added to his greatness, by inspiring him with more clemency. In a word, she was become so necessary to him, *that in 1707 he privately married her.* He had already had two daughters by her, and the following year a princess, who was afterwards married to the duke of Holstein \*. The marriage between Peter and Catharine was made public the same day on which he set † out with his consort, in order to measure his strength with the Ottoman empire. From the dispositions he had made, there was reason for him to promise himself success. The hetman of the Cossacks was to overawe the Tartars, who had made incursions into the Ukraine so early as the month of February; the Russian army was advancing towards the Niester; and another body of troops, under the command of prince Gallitzin, was on their march

\* 17th March, 1711.  
the Great.

† The journal of Peter

through



10 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

through Poland. The first operations were all in his favour; for Gallitzin having met in the neighbourhood of Kiow with a numerous body of Tartars, who had been joined by some Cossacks, and by a few Poles of Stanislaus's party, and even by a corps of Swedes, defeated them intirely, killing five thousand. These Tartars had already made ten thousand slaves in the open country; for it had been, time immemorial, the custom of that nation, to carry with them more cords than scimitars, in order to bind the prisoners they take in war. The captives were all set at liberty, and their captors put to the sword. Had the whole army been assembled, it must have amounted to sixty thousand men: for it was likewise to be reinforced by the troops of the king of Poland. This prince, who owed his crown and every thing valuable to the Czar, waited upon him at Jaroslaw, on the river Lane, the 3d of June, 1714, and promised to send him a considerable reinforcement. War was declared against the Turks in the name of the two kings; but the Polish diet, not chusing

## CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH. 11

chusing to break with the Port, would not ratify what Augustus had promised. Thus it was Peter's fate to have ever an impotent ally in king Augustus. He had the same expectations in Moldavia and Walachia, and met with the same disappointments.

Moldavia and Walachia were to shake off the Turkish yoke. These two provinces had been inhabited by the ancient Daci, who being intermixed with the Gepidæ, long infested the Roman empire; they were subdued by Trajan; and Constantine the Great converted them to Christianity. Thus the Daci became subject to the eastern empire, but they soon contributed to the subversion of the western, serving in the armies of Odoacer and Theodoric.

These countries were afterwards annexed to the Greek empire; and when the Turks made themselves masters of Constantinople, these provinces came under the oppressive government of their own princes. At length they were intirely subdued by the Padicha, or Turkish emperor, who

## 12 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

who grants the investiture thereof to a feudatory prince, distinguished by the title of Hospodar or Vaivod. The person thus chosen by the Port to rule over these provinces, is always a Christian of the Greek church. By this disposition the Turks display their toleration and indulgence, while our ignorant declaimers reproach them with persecuting our religion. The prince on whom the Port confers this office, is obliged to pay tribute, or more properly speaking, is only a farmer of the revenues to the grand seignor; the dignity is granted to the highest bidder, or him who makes the most valuable presents to the grand vizir; as in the case of the patriarchate of Constantinople. Sometimes this place is obtained by a dragoman, that is, by an interpreter to the divan. Moldavia and Walachia are seldom united under the same vaivod, the Port dividing those provinces, in order to secure their obedience. This vaivod Cantemir was said to be descended from Tamerlane, because Tamerlane's name was Têmur, and  
Timur



Timur had been a khan of Tartary; and from the name of Timur Khan the family of Cantemir was affirmed to be derived.

Walachia had been conferred on Bassaraba Brancovan, who could meet with no genealogist that would make him the descendant of a Tartarian conqueror. Cantemir imagined this a proper opportunity to shake off the Turkish yoke, and to render himself independent, by means of the Czar's protection. He acted exactly the same part with Peter, as Mazeppa had before with Charles. He had begun with engaging even the hospodar of Walachia, the abovementioned Bassaraba, to enter into the conspiracy, the sole advantage of which he expected to reap himself, his design being to seize the sovereignty of both provinces. The bishop of Jerusalem, who happened to be then in Walachia, was the soul of this conspiracy. Cantemir promised to assist the Czar with troops and provisions, as Mazeppa had promised in the like manner to assist the king of Sweden; nor did Cantemir perform his engagement better than Mazeppa. Gene-

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General Sheremetoff advanced as far as Jassi, the capital of Moldavia, to reconnoitre the country, and to support the execution of those mighty projects. Cantemir waited upon him in person, and met with the reception of a prince; but the only princely action he did, was his publishing a manifesto against the Turkish empire. The hospodar of Walachia having soon detected his ambitious views, abandoned his party, and returned to his duty. The bishop of Jerusalem, justly afraid of the punishment due to his crime, saved himself by flight; the inhabitants of Walachia and Moldavia continued their allegiance to the grand seignor; and they who were to have supplied the Russians with provisions, went and carried them to the Turkish army.

Already had the vizir Baltagi Mahomet passed the Danube at the head of a hundred thousand men, and was directing his march towards Jassi along the banks of the Pruth, formerly called the Hierasus, which empties itself into the Danube, and

and almost forms the boundary of Moldavia and Bessarabia. In this situation he deputed the count Poniatowsky, a Polish gentleman, who had followed the fortune of the king of Sweden, to intreat that prince to come and pay him a visit, and to see his army. Charles would not condescend to this step, but insisted that the grand vizir should pay him the first visit, at his asylum in the neighbourhood of Bender; so strangely did his pride prevail over his interest. Poniatowsky, upon his return to the Turkish camp, made an apology for the Swedish king's refusal; the vizir said to the khan of the Tartars, *This is what I expected, that the proud infidel would behave in this manner.* This mutual haughtiness, so disgustful to persons in power, did no service to the king of Sweden; who ought to have been sensible, by this time, that the Turks were promoting their own, and not his, interests.

While the Turkish army was passing the Danube, the Czar advanced through  
the



## 16 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

the frontiers of Poland, and passed the Borysthenes, in order to extricate Marshal Sheremetoff; whose troops being encamped on the banks of the Pruth to the south of Jassi, were in danger of being surrounded by a hundred thousand Turks, and an army of Tartars. The Czar, before he crossed the Borysthenes, was apprehensive of exposing Catharine to a danger which every day became more menacing; but Catharine looked upon this solicitude of her husband as an affront to her affection and to her courage. She pressed the matter so strongly, that Peter could not deprive himself of her company; the soldiers with joy beheld her on horseback at the head of the army, for she rarely made use of a carriage. The Russian troops were obliged to march through deserts beyond the Borysthenes, to cross the Bog, and to pass the river Tiras, now known by the name of the Niester; after which they had still another desert to march through, before they arrived at Jassi, on the banks of the Pruth.

## CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH. 17

Pruth. But Catharine encouraged the army, diffused an alacrity among the troops, sent refreshments and assistance to the officers, and extended her tenderness and care even to the common soldier.

At length they arrived at Jassi\*, where the magazines were to have been erected. Bassaraba, the hospodar of Walachia, being reconciled to the Port, but pretending to be in the interest of the Czar, proposed an accommodation to this prince, though the grand vizir had given him no such commission: the Czar perceiving the snare, declined the proposal, demanding only a supply of provisions, which the other neither was able nor willing to grant. Convoys from Poland would have been attended with very great difficulty; and as for the provisions which Cantemir had promised, and which he in vain expected to procure from Walachia, it was impossible for them to reach the army; so that the situation of the Russians was become extremely critical. To

\* 4th of July, 1711.

## 18 · CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

these disappointments, was added a most terrible scourge, that of whole clouds of locusts, which covered the fields, devoured the grain, and even infected the air: the troops were often distressed for want of water on their march, and exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, in a sandy desert, so that they were obliged to bring water in casks, to supply the army.

During this march, Peter, by an extraordinary fatality, happened to be within a very little distance of Charles XII; Bender being no more than five and twenty leagues from the place where the Russian army lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Jassi. Parties of Cossacks had penetrated very near to Charles's retreat; but the Crim Tartars hovering in those quarters, protected the king of Sweden from any surprize. Impatient, but undaunted, he waited in his camp the issue of the war.

No sooner had Peter formed some magazines, than he hastened his march along



## CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH. 19

along the right bank of the Pruth. The decisive point, was to prevent the Turks, who were posted lower down, on the left bank, from passing that river, and attacking his army. This manœuvre would have rendered him master of Moldavia and Walachia. He ordered general Janus to march with the vanguard, and oppose the passage of the Turks; but this general did not arrive till at the very time they were crossing over on their pontons; upon which he thought proper to retire, and his infantry were pursued, till the Czar in person came and extricated him from the enemy.

In consequence of this success, the Turkish army soon advanced towards that under the command of the Czar, along the banks of the river. There was no proportion between the two armies; that of the Turks, reinforced by the Tartars, was said to consist of very near two hundred and fifty thousand men; while the Czar had not with him at that time above thirty seven thousand. A very con-

## 20 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

considerable corps under general Renne, was then on the other side of the mountains of Moldavia, upon the river Sireth; and the communication was cut off by the Turks.

The Russian army began to be in want of provisions; the troops, though encamped at no great distance from the river, were scarce able to supply themselves with water, being exposed to a numerous artillery, which the grand vizir had planted on the left side of the Pruth, where lay encamped a body of troops, who fired incessantly upon the Russians. From this disposition, the truth of which may be depended upon, it appears that the vizir Baltagi-Mehemet, instead of being a person of weak understanding, as represented by the Swedes, had conducted his affairs with uncommon skill and sagacity. To pass the Pruth within sight of an enemy, to oblige that enemy to retire, and to pursue him in his retreat, to intercept all at once the communication between the Czar's army and a body of  
Russian

## CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH. 21

Russian cavalry, to surround that army, and cut off its retreat, to starve it in its camp, and to keep it within reach of his batteries, which were on the opposite side of the river; this whole manœuvre manifestly shewed him to be a person endowed with activity and foresight.

Peter was then in a more critical situation than that of Charles XII. at Pultowa; hemmed in like that prince by a superior army, more distressed for want of provisions, deceived like him by the promises of a prince who had not power to fulfill them, he thought it advisable to retreat, and to chuse an advantageous camp in returning towards Jassi.

With this view, he decamped in the night\*; but scarce had his army began its march, when the Turks by break of day fell upon his rear. The regiment of Preobrasinsky guards, for a considerable time, checked the impetuosity of the enemy. The troops formed themselves into order of battle, and made retrenchments with their

\* 20th of July, 1711.



## 22 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

waggons and heavy baggage. The same day the whole Turkish army attacked the Russians. That the latter were able to defend themselves, notwithstanding what has been affirmed to the contrary, appears from this, that they really did sustain for a considerable time the impression of the whole Turkish army, of whom they killed great numbers, without being thrown into confusion.

There were at that time in the Ottoman army two of the king of Sweden's officers, count Poniatowski, and count Spare, with a few Cossacks that had followed the party of Charles XII. My vouchers inform me, that these generals advised the grand vizir not to fight, but to cut off all water and provisions from the enemy, and thus oblige them either to surrender, or to perish. Other memoirs pretend, on the contrary, that they excited the grand vizir to fall sword in hand upon the Russian army, and to exterminate an enemy, that was already enfeebled, distressed, and almost starved

## CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH. 23

starved with hunger. The first advice seems the most circumspect, the second more conformable to the idea of officers bred under Charles XII.

The fact is, the grand vizir by break of day attacked the Russians in the rear, which was in some disorder. The Turks found only a line of four hundred men, who formed with the utmost expedition. A German general, named Alard, had the honour of making so excellent and so quick a disposition of his men, that the Russians withstood the Ottoman army, during the space of three hours, without losing ground.

The Czar now found the advantage of the discipline, to which he had habituated his troops. The time had been when sixty thousand men were defeated at Narva by eight thousand, from their having been undisciplined; and here was an instance of a rear of about eight thousand Russians making head against a hundred and fifty thousand Turks, and obliging them to retire with the loss of seven thousand men.

## 24 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

After this smart encounter, the two armies entrenched themselves in the night; but the Russians were still inclosed, and distressed for want of provisions and water. They were near the banks of the Pruth, yet unable to come at the river; for so soon as any of their soldiers ventured to fetch water from thence, the Turks on the opposite side were sure to ply them with a numerous artillery charged with cartridge shot. Thus the Turkish army, which had attacked the Russians in battle, still continued to annoy them with their cannon.

The Russians were in great danger of being utterly undone, by their disadvantageous situation, by the inequality of their numbers, and the want of provisions. Continual skirmishes were still carried on, and the Russian cavalry being almost entirely dismounted, could be of no further service, unless by fighting on foot, so that affairs on that side seemed to be in a desperate situation. The reader need only to cast an eye on the following plan, which  
exhibits



## CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH. 25

exhibits an exact view of the Russian and Turkish camps, to be convinced, that a



more dangerous situation could not exist;  
that it was impossible for the Czar to re-  
treat,

## 26 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

treat, and that he was under the necessity either of obtaining a complete victory, or of fighting to the very last man, or of surrendering to the Turks.

All the relations and memoirs of the times unanimously agree, that the Czar, fluctuating in his mind, whether he should renew the engagement the next day with the enemy, and expose his wife, his army, his empire, and the fruit of all his labours, to a danger which seemed almost insuperable, retired to his tent oppressed with anxiety, and labouring under convulsions, to which he was sometimes subject, and which his present solicitude contributed to increase. Thus resigning himself a prey to the most torturing disquietude, and unwilling that his distracted condition should be known, he gave orders that no body should be permitted to enter his tent. Then it was that he experienced the good effect of having permitted his wife to accompany him in this expedition. Catharine entered his tent, notwithstanding his prohibition.

A woman

## CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH. 27

A woman who had faced death during all these engagements; who had been no less exposed than any other person, to the fire of the Turkish artillery, had a right to speak. She did, and persuaded her husband to try what could be effected by negociation.

It has been an immemorial custom amongst Oriental nations, whenever a person asks audience of the sovereign, or his representative, never to accost them empty handed. Catharine got together the few jewels she had brought with her in this military journey, from which all magnificence and luxury had been banished; to which she added the furs of a couple of black foxes: as for the money, it was designed for the kiaja. She herself pitched upon an intelligent officer, who, with two valets, was to carry the presents intended for the grand vizir, and safely to deliver the money into the hands of the kiaja. This officer was likewise entrusted with a letter from marshal Sheremetoff to Mehemet-Baltagi. Peter's memoirs take notice



## 28 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

tice of the letter, but do not mention the particulars of the negociation entered into by Catharine; yet the whole affair is sufficiently authenticated by the declaration of Peter himself, published in 1723, when he caused the empress Catharine to be crowned. *She has been of great assistance to us*, said he, *in all times of danger, but particularly at the battle of Pruth, where our army was reduced to two and twenty thousand men.* If the Czar had really no more than two and twenty thousand fighting men, whom famine and the sword threatened with destruction; the service done on this occasion by Catharine, was equal to the favours with which she was loaded by her husband. The manuscript journal \* of Peter the Great affirms, that the 20th of July, the day on which this memorable engagement was fought, there were 31554 infantry, and 6692 cavalry, most of them dismounted; he must, therefore, in that battle, have lost 16246 fighting men. By the same memoirs we

\* Journal of Peter the Great.

# CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH. 29

are assured, that the loss of the Turks far exceeded his; for as they attacked tumultuously, and without any order, not one of the enemy's shot missed them. If this be true, the battle of Pruth on the 20th or 21st of July, was one of the bloodiest that has been fought these many ages.

We must either suspect that *Peter the Great* was mistaken, when at the coronation of the empress, he testifies his acknowledgments to that princess, declaring, *she had preserved his army from destruction, when reduced to two and twenty thousand men*; or we must deny the veracity of this journal, wherein it is affirmed, that on the day the battle was fought, his army on the banks of the Pruth, independently of the corps encamped on the Sireth, amounted to 31554 foot, and 6692 horse. According to this account, the battle would have been more dreadful and bloody than the several relations of historians, and the various *memoirs on both sides seem hitherto to have represented it.* There must

### 30 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

must surely be some oversight in this case, a thing very usual in the relations of campaigns, whenever they enter into details; the safest way is always to abide by the principal event, the victory and the defeat: as to what either of them may have cost, we are rarely informed thereof with any exactness.

Whatever might have been the diminution in the Czar's army, in consequence of the late action, he flattered himself, that so intrepid and so obstinate a resistance, would incline the grand vizir to grant terms of peace honourable to the Port, agreeable to his master, and at the same time not too mortifying to the empire of Russia. The great merit of Catharine seems to have been her discovering this possibility, at a crisis, when the Russian generals saw nothing but inevitable destruction.

Norberg, in his history of Charles XII. mentions a letter from the Czar to the grand vizir, wherein he expresses himself in the following terms: *Should I, contrary*

*to*



*to my intention, have had the misfortune of incurring the displeasure of his highness, I am ready to redress whatever complaint he may have against me. I beseech you, most noble general, to prevent the farther effusion of blood; and I conjure you, from this moment, to put a stop to the excessive fire of your artillery. Please to accept of the hostage I have sent you.*

This letter, like most of the pieces published at a venture by Norberg, is a manifest forgery; it is dated the 11th of July, N. S. and the letter to Baltagi-Mehemet was dated the 21st, N. S. It was not written by the Czar, but by marshal Sheremetoff, who did not make use of such expressions, as, *the Czar has had the misfortune of incurring the displeasure of his highness*; such terms as those are suitable only to a subject who implores his master's forgiveness: as for an hostage, it is out of the question; none was sent; the letter was carried by an officer, whilst the artillery played on both sides. Sheremetoff only reminded the vizir of some

### 32 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

overtures of peace made by the Porte, through the channel of the English and Dutch ministers at the beginning of the campaign, when the divan demanded the cession of the citadel and harbour of Taganroc, which had been the real causes of the war.

No answer being received from the grand vizir within some hours, it was apprehended that the bearer had been killed, or was detained by the Turks: therefore a second express was dispatched\*, with a duplicate of the letter; a council of war was also held, at which Catharine assisted; the result of it was as follows, and signed by ten general officers.

‘ Should the vizir not accept of the  
‘ conditions offered; should he insist on  
‘ our laying down our arms, and surren-  
‘ dering at discretion; it is the unanimous  
‘ opinion of all the generals and ministers,  
‘ that an attempt be made for breaking  
‘ through the enemy.’

In consequence of this resolution, a

21st July, 1711.

trench

trench was thrown up round the baggage, and the Russians had advanced within a hundred paces of the Turkish army; when at length, the grand vizir proclaimed a suspension of arms.

All the memoirs written by the Swedish party, make this vizir a cowardly villain, who had suffered himself to be bribed; as many writers have accused count Piper of having taken money from the duke of Marlborough, to induce the king of Sweden to continue the war against the Czar; and a minister of France has been charged with venality in the treaty of Seville. Such accusations should never be advanced, but on evident proofs; it is very rare that prime ministers stoop to those scandalous meannesses, which soon or late are discovered, if not by those who gave the money, at least by the public records, which are authentic vouchers of the treachery. A minister has the eyes of Europe on him; his honour is the basis of his credit; and he is always rich enough to stand in no need of becoming a traitor.



### 34 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

To be viceroy of the Ottoman empire, is a post of such eminence, its profits in time of war are so immense; such were the plenty and magnificence in the tents of Baltagi-Mehemet; such the plainness, and especially the scarcity of provisions, in the Czar's army, that it rather became the grand vizir to give, than to receive: a slight compliment of furs and rings sent by a woman, according to the custom of all courts, or rather of all Eastern courts, cannot be looked on as bribery. Baltagi-Mehemet's free and open behaviour seems a strong confutation of the accusations with which so many books are sullied in their accounts of this affair. Vice-chancellor Shaffiroff went into his tent with a numerous retinue; every thing was transacted publicly, and could not be transacted otherwise. The very negotiation was entered on before a man, in the king of Sweden's service, being a domestic of count Poniatowski; this man was an officer under Charles the Twelfth, and acted on the present occasion as interpreter; the articles,

## CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH. 35

articles, moreover, were publicly taken down in writing by the vizir's first secretary, Hummer Effendi. Even count Potniatowski himself was there; and the present to the kiaia was offered publicly, and according to the ceremonial; in short, every thing passed in the Eastern manner. Presents were made on both sides, so that nothing can have a less appearance of treachery. What determined the vizir's assent to a cessation of arms, was, that, at that very time, the corps commanded by general Renne, on the river Sireth in Moldavia, had crossed three rivers, and was near the Danube, where Renne had taken the town and castle of Brahila, though defended by a numerous garrison under a Bashaw. The Czar had, besides, another body of troops advancing from the frontiers of Poland. It is also very probable, that the vizir was unacquainted with the scarcity among the Russians: the accounts of stores and provisions are never communicated to the enemy; on the contrary, in the presence of an hostile army, it is usual to boast of

D 2

plenty,

### 36 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

plenty, even under the severest distress. Desertion between the Turks and Russians is not known, as among us; the difference of cloathing, of religion, and of language restrain it; thus the grand vizir had no exact knowledge of the deplorable condition of Peter's army.

Baltagi, who was not fond of war, yet had conducted it well, conceived that his expedition would be sufficiently successful, in delivering up to the grand seignor the cities and harbours for which he was fighting; in sending back from the Danube, into Russia, general Renne's victorious army, and in secluding for ever an enterprising prince from all entrance into the Palus Mæotis, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Black Sea; lastly, in not risking certain advantages on the chance of a fresh battle, (in which, after all, despair might prove too strong for numbers). He had seen, the very day before, his janissaries repulsed; and instances were not wanting, of victories gained by the smaller number; these were his reasons, which, however, were



were not approved of by some of Charles's officers then in his army, nor by the khan of the Tartars. The motive of the Tartars was the continuance of their pillages on the frontiers of Russia and Poland; the view of Charles the Twelfth, was to be revenged of the Czar; but the general, and chief minister of the Ottoman empire, was not prompted either by the private revenge of a Christian prince, nor by an avidity of booty which swayed the Tartars. A suspension of arms being settled, the Russians supplied themselves with provisions, purchasing them from the Turks. The articles of this peace were different from what La Motraye relates, and Norberg only copies from him. The vizir, among other conditions, at first required, that the Czar should engage to concern himself no farther in the affairs of Poland, and on this Poniatowski insisted; but, in reality, it was for the interest of the Turkish empire that Poland should continue weak and disunited; this article therefore terminated in withdrawing the Russian troops

### 38 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

from the frontiers. The khan of the Tartars demanded a tribute of 40,000 sequins; but, after a long debate, it passed in the negative.

The vizir was very urgent that Cantemir should be delivered up to him, as Patkul had been at the solicitations of the king of Sweden. Cantemir's case was exactly the very same as that of Mazeppa, who, by the Czar's order, had been formally tried and executed in effigy. The Turks did not act thus. Processes for contumacy, and the publication and posting up of sentences, being unknown among them, and much less executions in effigy, their law prohibiting all human representations of any kind whatever. It was in vain they insisted on Cantemir's being delivered up, Peter expressing himself in these very words, in a letter to vice-chancellor Shaffiroff:

' I will rather cede to the Turks all  
' the country as far as Curk ; I shall  
' still have some hopes of recovering it ;  
' but my word once forfeited, is irre-  
' coverable ;

coverable; it must not be violated. Honour is all we have peculiar to ourselves; renouncing that, is ceasing to be a monarch.

At length the treaty was concluded, and signed near the village Falksen on the Pruth: it was stipulated, that Asoph and its territory should be restored, with the ammunition and artillery which were in it before the Czar took it in 1696; that the harbour of Taganroc, on the sea of Zabache, should be demolished, together with that of Samara, on the river of that name, and other smaller forts. An article was added, relating to the king of Sweden; and this very article plainly indicates the vizir's displeasure against him. It was agreed that this prince, if he would return into his dominions, should not be molested by the Czar; and farther, that if so disposed, those two sovereigns might make peace.

From the singularity of this article, it is manifest, that Baltagi-Mehemet had not forgot Charles's haughtiness; and might it not be on account of this haughtiness, that



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Mehemet leaned towards a peace. The fall of the Czar was the rise of Charles; and it is not in the human heart to contribute to the power of those who despise us. In fine, this prince, who had refused coming to the vizir's army, when every thing required his being on good terms with that minister, now hastened thither, towards the conclusion of the work, which frustrated all his hopes. The vizir, instead of going himself, only sent two Bashaws to meet him, deferring that ceremony till Charles was drawing near to his tent.

The conversation is well known to have turned only on reproaches: the vizir's answer to the king, who upbraided him for not taking the Czar prisoner, when he might, has been looked upon, by many historians, as the answer of an idiot: *Had I taken the Czar,* said he, *who would have governed his empire?* Yet is it easily seen to be the answer of a person offended; and the addition of these words, *All kings should not leave their homes,* sufficiently shew his intention to mortify the Bender-guest.

Thus

Thus all the satisfaction Charles reaped from his long journey, was to tear the grand vizir's robe with one of his spurs; whereas the vizir, who might have made him repent of this indignity, overlooked it, and herein shewed himself much greater than Charles. If amidst the blaze and tumult of this monarch's life, any thing could have brought him to see how much grandeur is subject to the reverse of fortune, it is, that at Pultowa, a pastry-cook had made his whole army lay down their arms; and that at the Pruth, both the Czar's fate, and his own, had been decided by a wood-cleaver; this vizir, Baltagi-Mehemet, having been a wood-cleaver in the seraglio, as his name signifies; and instead of being ashamed of it, he accounted it an honour. So different are the Eastern manners from ours.

The vizir's conduct was, at first, highly applauded by the sultan, and all Constantinople: the rejoicings lasted a whole week; and Mehemet's Kiaia, who brought the treaty to the divan, was immediately made

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made Boujouk-Imraour, or master of the horse. This is not the way of dealing with those suspected of malversation or cowardice.

Norberg certainly knew very little of the Ottoman government, in saying, *that the grand seignor courted his vizir; and that Baltagi-Mehemet was to be feared.* The janissaries have often been fatal to the sultans; but there is not one single instance of a vizir, who has not readily been sacrificed, on an order from his master: besides, Mehemet was not able to support himself by his own interest. Further, it is a contradiction to affirm in the same page, that the janissaries were incensed against Mehemet, and that the sultan dreaded his power.

The king of Sweden was now reduced to the mean shift of caballing at the Ottoman court. A king who had made kings, is busied in contriving means, that memoirs and petitions, which the ministry would not receive, might be delivered to the sultan. All the artifices and intrigues which  
a sub-



## CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH. 43

a subject would make use of to supplant a minister in his sovereign's esteem, Charles practised against the vizir Mehemet and all his successors; sometimes application was made to the sultana Validé, by a Jewess; sometimes an eunuch was the messenger; at last was found a wretch, who, mingling himself among the grand seignor's guards, acted the madman, with a view, that, the sultan taking notice of him, he might give him a memorial from the king. But the result of all these devices was, that Charles had the mortification to see himself deprived of his *Thaim*, i. e. the *pension* which he daily received from the Port's generosity, amounting to 1500 livres French money. The grand vizir, instead of the *Thaim*, transmitting to him an order, in the softened form of an advice, to quit Turkey.

Charles was more determined than ever to stay, still flattering himself that he should lead an Ottoman army into Poland and Russia. The issue of his obstinacy, in the year 1714, is known to all the world;

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world; how with his secretaries, valets, cooks, and grooms, he fought against an army of janissaries, spahis, and Tartars; how he was a prisoner in the country, where he had enjoyed the most generous hospitality; and how, after a stay of five years in Turkey, he returned to his own kingdom in the disguise of a courier. If there was any rationality in his conduct, it must be owned to have been of a different kind from that of other men,



CHAP.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Sequel of the Campaign on the Pruth.*

\*\*\* I \*\*\* T will be proper here to remind the reader of a passage already related in the history of Charles the Twelfth. During the cessation of arms, which preceded the treaty of the Pruth, two Tartars having surprized two Italian officers of the Czar's army, came to offer them for sale to an officer of the janissaries; this breach of the public faith the vizir punished with death. How is this rigid punctuality reconcileable with that violation of the law of nations in the person of the ambassador Tolstoy, who had been seized in the streets of Constantinople by order of the same grand vizir? The contradictions in the behaviour of men are never without reason. Baltagi-Mehemet was



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was displeased with the khan of the Tartars, on account of his violent opposition to a peace, and now would let him know that he was master.

The peace being signed, the Czar marched back by the way of Jassi, followed by a body of eight thousand Turks, whom the vizir sent not only to observe the motions of the Russian army, but to hinder the roving Tartars from molesting them.

Peter, agreeable to the treaty, immediately caused the fortrefs of Samara and Kamienska to be demolished; but more difficulty attended the restitution of Asoph and the demolition of Tangaroc. According to the terms of the treaty, the artillery and stores at Asoph, belonging to the Turks, were to be distinguished from those sent thither by the Czar, since his conquest of the place; the governor's delay in this arrangement gave just offence to the Port. The sultan was impatient to receive the keys of Asoph, the vizir continued promising them, and the governor still chicaned. This lost Baltagi-Mehemet

both his master's favour and his post; the khan of the Tartars and his other enemies prevailed against him; he was involved in the disgrace of several Bashaws; still the grand seignor, convinced of his fidelity, instead of touching either his life or fortune, sent him to Mytilene\*, and as governor of that place. His removal, without any other punishment, especially his being made governor of Mytilene, manifestly overthrows all that Norberg advances concerning the vizir's having been bribed by the Czar.

Norberg says, that the Bostangi Bachi, on signifying to him his arrest, and demanding of him the seal of the empire, declared him *a traitor, who had disobeyed his master, who had sold himself to the enemy for money, and guilty of neglecting the king of Sweden's interest.* First, these sorts of declarations are never used in Turkey. The sultan's orders are issued in privacy, and as privately executed. Secondly, had the vizir been declared a traitor and re-

\* in November.

#### 48 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

bel, the consequence, in a country where such crimes are never pardoned, *would have been death.* Lastly, had he been punished for not taking due care of Charles the Twelfth's interest, it is plain, this prince must have had such a weight at the Ottoman court, that the other ministers would have courted his favour, and even prevented his desires; whereas, this was so very far from being the case, that Jussuf Bashaw, aga of the janissaries, who succeeded Mehemet-Baltagi in the vizirship, openly shewed the same sentiments in regard to the behaviour of that prince, as his predecessor; so far from promoting his interest, he made it his business to rid himself of such a turbulent guest; and when Poniatowski, Charles the Twelfth's favourite companion, came with a compliment to the vizir on his promotion, Jussuf said to him, *Mind, thou infidel, on the first notice of any cabal of thine, be assured that thou shalt be thrown into the sea with a stone about thy neck.*

This



## CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH. 49

This compliment, related by count Poniatowski himself, in the memoirs which he drew up at my desire, shews beyond all doubt how little influence Charles the Twelfth had at the Port. Norberg's whole narration of the affairs of Turkey is strongly marked with prejudice and misinformation : all that he advances in it without any manner of proof concerning the pretended corruption of a grand vizir, that is, of a man, who had the disposal of above sixty millions of money *per annum*, without being accountable, must be classed among the errors of party spirit and political falsities. I have still by me, the letter which count Poniatowski wrote to king Stanislaus immediately after the peace of the Pruth : he accuses Baltagi-Mehemet of hating the king of Sweden, of bearing an aversion to war, and being too easy tempered ; but not a word of corruption ; he knew too well what the post of grand vizir is, to think that the Czar could purchase the treachery of the vice-roy of the Ottoman empire.

50. CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

Shaffiroff and Sheremetoff, who remained as hostages at Constantinople, were treated otherwise than as if they had been convicted of purchasing the peace, and of acting in collusion with the vizir to deceive the sultan: they were at perfect liberty, and had two companies of janissaries to protect them.

Tolstoy the Russian ambassador being discharged out of the Seven Towers, on the conclusion of the peace of the Pruth, the ministers of England and Holland interposed with the new vizir for the performance of the articles.

Asoph, at length, had just been restored to the Turks, and the demolition of the fortresses stipulated in the treaty, was carried into execution. Though the Ottoman Port little concerns itself with the broils of Christian princes; yet at that time, it was pleased to see itself the arbiter between Russia, Poland, and Sweden: the grand seignor required that the Czar should withdraw his troops out of Poland, and thus Turkey be freed from such a dangerous neighbour; he was also desirous that Charles might return

into

into his dominions, as this would foment the broils among the Christian princes; but never did he intend to furnish him with an army. The Tartars were ever ardent for war, as a trade which they found very lucrative. The janissaries wished for it, but rather from a hatred of the Christians, from ferocity, and a delight in licentiousness, than from any other motive; yet did the negotiations of the English and Dutch ministers prevail against the opposite party. The peace of the Pruth was confirmed, with this addition in the new treaty; that the Czar should within three months recall all his troops out of Poland; and that the grand seignor should immediately cause Charles the Twelfth to withdraw from Turkey.

From this new treaty we may judge, whether the king of Sweden had any thing of that weight at the Port, as some have related. He was manifestly sacrificed both by the new vizir Jussuf Bashaw, and Baltagi-Mehemet. To throw a veil over this fresh affront, his historians have been re-



## 52 CAMPAIGN ON THE PRUTH.

duced to the low shift of charging both vizirs with bribery. Such imputations, so often repeated, without any manner of proof, are rather the clamours of an impotent cabal, than historical vouchers. The facts which the spirit of party is obliged to own, it disgraces with false motives and circumstances; and thus it is that all contemporary histories are handed down to posterity, when it is scarce any longer possible to distinguish reality from fiction.





### CHAPTER III.

*The Czarowitz married : solemn declaration of Peter's marriage with Catharine : her brother makes himself known.*

**T**HIS unfortunate campaign of the Pruth, was of worse consequence to the Czar, than the battle of Narva ; by that defeat he had profited so as to recover all his losses and dispossess Charles XII. of Ingria. But in the treaty of Falksen, besides losing all his harbours and fortresses on the Palus Mæotis, he was also to renounce the sovereignty of the Black Sea. His enterprizes still afforded him a large field for action ; various institutions in Russia were to be completed ; his conquests on Sweden were to be pushed ; king Augustus was to be securely re-established in Poland, and an

54 THE CZAROWITZ MARRIED.

harmony with his allies to be kept up. Fatigue had so impaired his health, that he went to drink the celebrated waters of Carlsbad in Bohemia ; whilst, in this recess, he ordered Pomerania to be attacked ; Stralsund also was blockaded, and five small towns were taken.

Pomerania is the most northern province of Germany, confining eastward on Prussia and Poland, and westward on Brandenburg ; southward it is bounded by Mecklenburg, and northward by the Baltic Sea : it has changed masters almost every century. In the famous thirty years war, Gustavus Adolphus possessed himself of it, and by the treaty of Westphalia it was formally ceded to the Swedes, the bishoprick of Camin and some small places in further Pomerania excepted. The whole province should naturally belong to the elector of Brandenburg, in virtue of family compacts made with the dukes of Pomerania. On the extinction of the ducal lineage in 1637, the house of Brandenburg, according to the laws of the empire,



pire, had a manifest right to this province; but necessity, the primary law, getting the better of family compacts at the treaty of Osnabrug, Pomerania, exclusively of a very small part, remained an acquisition of Swedish valour.

The Czar's scheme was to strip the crown of Sweden of all its German provinces; to accomplish this, it was requisite to form an alliance with Brandenburg, Hanover, and Denmark. Peter with his own hand digested the several articles of the treaty, which he was meditating with those powers; and the whole detail of the operations necessary for the conquest of Pomerania.

At this very juncture\*, he married his son Alexis in the town of Torgaw to the princess of Wolfenbuttle, sister to the empress of Germany, Charles the Sixth's consort; a very unhappy marriage, both parties afterwards falling a sacrifice to it.

The Czarowitz was the fruit of Peter's first marriage with Eudoxia Lapukin in

\* October 25, 1711.

## 56 THE CZAROWITZ MARRIED.

1689, now confined in a monastery at Sufdale. Her son Alexis Petrowitz being born the first of March 1690, was at this time in his twenty-second year, yet not so much as known in Europe. A minister, whose memoirs on the court of Russia have been printed, says, in a letter to his master, dated August 25, 1711, 'this prince  
' is tall and well made, greatly resembling his father, with a very good heart, and such a sense of religion, that  
' he had read the whole Bible through no less than five times; he takes a particular delight in the ancient Greek historians: he has a ready comprehensive  
' genius; is acquainted with the mathematics, understands war, navigation, and hydraulics; is master of the German, and learning French; but his  
' father would never allow him to be learned in what is called the exercise of a gentleman.'

This is a portraiture very different from that which some time after the Czar himself drew of this unfortunate son. We shall

see

THE CZAROWITZ MARRIED. 57

see his father reproaching him with all the vices and defects most opposite to those good qualities which this minister admires in him.

Posterity is to decide between a foreigner whose judgment may be precipitate, or adulatory, and a father who held it his duty to sacrifice the sensations of nature to the good of the empire. If the minister had no better knowledge of Alexis's mind than of his person, his testimony is of little weight: he makes the prince tall and well made; whereas, by the accounts I have received from Peterburg, he was neither.

Catharine, his mother-in-law, was not present at the marriage; for tho' considered as Czarina, she had not been formally acknowledged such, and being stiled only highness at the Czar's court, her rank was still too mysterious for her to sign a contract, or for the German ceremonial to allow her a place suitable to her dignity, as Czar Peter's spouse. She was then at Thorn in Polish Prussia. The Czar immediately sent away the new-married couple to Wolfenbuttle,



## 58 SOLEMN DECLARATION

buttle \*, and soon brought back the Czarina to Petersburg, with his usual expedition and simplicity.

After concluding his son's marriage, he gave orders for the more solemn declaration of his own, and celebrated it at Petersburg †, with all the splendor possible in a country, as it were recently created, and at a time, when the finances had suffered by the late Turkish war, and the vigorous prosecution of that with Sweden. The Czar alone planned the rejoicings, and, according to his custom, worked at the preparatives. Thus Catharine, in return for having saved the Czar and his army, was publicly acknowledged Czarina.

The applauses of subjects to absolute princes are always suspicious, but the acclamations with which this marriage was received at Petersburg, were sincere, and seconded by all sensible persons throughout Europe; who with pleasure saw, and nearly at the same time, on one side, the heir of this vast monarchy, without any

\* Jan. 9, 1712.

† Feb. 19, 1712.

other glory than that of his birth, married to a princess; and on the other, a conqueror and legislator, publicly admitting to his bed and his throne, an unknown captive, without any other recommendation than merit. This approbation has augmented with the spread of that sound philosophy, which within these forty years has made such progresses; a sublime and circumspect philosophy, teaching that only external tokens of regard are to be paid to any kind of grandeur and power; and that real respect is to be reserved for well-exerted abilities and public services.

Concerning this marriage, I shall faithfully relate what I meet with in count Bassewitz's dispatches; he was aulic counsellor at Vienna, and a long time minister of Holstein to the court of Russia, also a gentleman of parts, candour and probity: in a letter of his he has the following words. ' The Czarina had not  
' only saved Peter's reputation, but was  
' necessary to the preservation of his life.  
' This prince was unhappily subject to  
' very

## 60 SOLEMN DECLARATION

‘ very painful convulsions, which were  
 ‘ thought to proceed from a poison given  
 ‘ to him in his youth. These pains Catharine had found the secret of removing by studied succours and laborious offices, of which she alone was capable, giving herself entirely up to the preservation of a health, equally important to the state and herself. Thus the Czar could not live without her, and thus he promoted her to his bed and throne.’

Fortune, which in this part of the world had exhibited so many extraordinary scenes, which had raised the empress Catharine from abasement and distress to the highest degree of exaltation, gratified her with another singular event some years after the solemnization of her marriage.

The following relation I find in a curious manuscript of a person \*, at that time in the Czar’s service, and who speaks as an eye-witness.

An envoy from king Augustus to the Czar, returning to Dresden through Cour-

\* Page 56. of the manuscript.



land, overheard in an inn a man, whose apparel betraying neceffitous circumstances, was the cause of his being treated with that contempt and insult, to which such a condition is too often expofed. The ftranger with proper resentment faid to them, that could he but once come to the fpeech of the Czar, they who made fo free with him, would change their note, as at that prince's court he fhould find greater friends than was imagined.

At this the envoy had the curiofity to question the perfon who pretended to fuch intereft at court; and on his vague answers, viewing him more attentively, he thought that in many of his features, he difcerned fome refemblance to the empress. Arriving at Dresden, he could not forbear writing to a friend of his at Petersburg, about this adventure. The letter was fhewn to the Czar, who fent inftructions to prince Repnin, governor of Riga, to make an inquiry after the man mentioned in the letter; and by the diligence of a perfon, whom the prince difpatched to Mit-

tau

## 62 CATHARINE'S BROTHER

tau in Courland, he was found out. His name, he said, was Charles Scavronski; he was son to a Lithuanian gentleman who had been killed in the Polish wars, leaving two children in the cradle, a boy and a girl; both had no education but from nature, being destitute of every thing. Scavronski having been separated from his sister in their childhood, all he knew of her was, that she had been taken at Marienburg in 1704, and he believed her still to be with prince Menzikoff, in whose family he imagined she might have mended her condition.

Prince Repnin, according to express orders from his master, had Scavronski brought to Riga under pretence of some state-crime; and a kind of charge being drawn up against him, he was sent under a strong guard to Petersburg, but with directions that he should be well used on the road.

At Petersburg, he was immediately carried to a steward of the Czar's, named Shepleff, who being instructed in the part

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he was to act, drew from this man several particulars relating to his condition, after which he told him, that the charge sent against him from Riga, was of a very serious nature, but that he should have fair play; that his best way would be to present to his majesty a petition, which should be drawn up in his name, and that ways and means should be found out for him to deliver it himself.

The next day the Czar dining with Shepleff, as had been concerted, Scavronski was brought before him: his answers to the Czar's questions being perfectly natural and consistent, Peter was fully convinced of his being the very brother of the Czarina. In their childhood they had both been in Livonia; all Scavronski's answers to the Czar's questions perfectly coincided with what his spouse had told him about her birth, and the early misfortunes of her life.

The Czar having now no longer any doubt about Scavronski, proposed to his spouse the day following to go and dine at Mr. Shepleff's: after dinner, he ordered

Scavronski



64 CATHARINE'S BROTHER

Scavronski to be brought in; he appeared in the same clothes which he had worn in his journey, it being the Czar's order that he should not be seen in any other garb, than that to which his misfortunes had habituated him.

He again questioned him before his consort, and according to the manuscript, on finishing his question, he said these very words: *This man is thy brother, come Charles, kiss the empress's hand, and embrace thy sister.*

The author of this account adds, that the empress fainted, and that on her recovery the Czar said to her, *There is nothing in this that is in the least mysterious. This gentleman is my brother-in-law, if he has merit, we will make something of him; if not, we must leave him as he is.*

This plain speech seems to me extremely noble. The author says, that Scavronski continued a long time with Shepleff, that a considerable pension was settled on him, and that he lived very retired. Here he leaves this adventure, which thus only serves

to

to discover Catharine's birth; but it is farther known that this gentleman was created a count; that he espoused a young lady of quality, and that he had two daughters married to the first noblemen in Russia. Let the few who may have a knowledge of these particulars, distinguish what is true in this adventure from any supposititious additions. The author of the manuscript does not seem to have related these transactions only to entertain his readers with something of the marvellous; his narrative not having been designed for public view: he plainly writes to his friend, what he says he had seen; in some circumstances he may be mistaken, but the ground-work seems real; for had Charles known himself to be brother to such a personage, he would not have delayed so many years making himself known; and this discovery, however singular it seems, is not so extraordinary as Catharine's elevation. Both afford a striking proof of destiny, and should teach us to suspend our judg-

## 66 CATHARINE'S BROTHER, &c.

ments in hastily giving the name of fables to so many ancient events, perhaps less contrary to the common order of things, than the whole history of this empress.

The entertainments given by Peter at the marriage of himself and son, were not transitory diversions, which, after draining the treasury, are scarce remembered. He finished the foundery, and the admiralty, with the improvement of the roads; new ships were launched, canals dug, an exchange and warehouses built, and the maritime commerce of Petersburg began to flourish. He removed the senate from Moscow to Petersburg, which took place in the month of April, 1712, and thus this new town became in some measure the capital of the empire. Several Swedish prisoners were employed in the embellishments of this city, which owed its foundation to their defeat.



CHAPTER IV.

STETIN TAKEN.

*Descent in Finland, Events of 1712.*

PETER seeing himself happy in his family, in his government, in his wars against Charles the Twelfth, in his negotiations with all the princes, who were for driving the Swedes out of the continent, and shutting them up for ever in the peninsula of Scandinavia, now turned his views to the western course of the north of Europe, forgetting the Palus Mæotis, and the Black Sea. The keys of Asoph, after being a long time refused to the Bashaw, who was to take possession of that place in the name of the grand seignor, had, at length, been delivered up; and amidst all the cares of

Charles the Twelfth, amidst all the intrigues of his partisans at the Ottoman court, and even amidst many evidences of a fresh war, Russia and Turkey were at peace.

Charles the Twelfth, still obstinate, would remain at Bender; thus making his fortune and his hopes to depend on the caprice of a grand vizir, whilst all his provinces were threatened by the Czar, who had armed Denmark and Hanover against him, was exciting Poland and Saxony; and was on the point of bringing Prussia to declare.

The same inflexible pride with which Charles behaved towards the Port, where all his dependance now lay, he manifested against his distant enemies, united to crush him. From his lonely recess in the desarts of Bessarabia, he braved both the Czar and the kings of Poland, Denmark and Prussia, also the elector of Hanover, who soon after became king of England, and the emperor of Germany, whom he had so highly offended, in passing through Silesia as a conqueror: which

which the emperor now revenged, by leaving him to his ill fortune, and giving no manner of protection to the Swedish territories in Germany.

The league then forming against him, might easily have been disconcerted; it was only yielding Stetin to the first king of Prussia, Frederick elector of Brandenburg, who unquestionably had a very legal claim to that part of Pomerania: but he did not then look on Prussia as a preponderating power; neither Charles, nor any one else, could foresee that the scanty kingdom of Prussia, then little better than a waste, and the electorate of Brandenburg, would so soon become formidable. He would listen to no accommodation, and being determined to break rather than bend, he ordered the most vigorous resistance to be made every where both by land and sea. Though his dominions were almost drained of men and money, his orders were obeyed; the senate of Stockholm fitted out a fleet of thirteen ships of the line, a militia was



## 70 OBSTINACY OF CHARLES XII.

formed, and every man became a soldier; the courage and resolution of the sovereign seemed to animate all the subjects, now almost as unfortunate as himself.

Charles can hardly be thought to have had a settled plan of conduct. He had still a party in Poland, which with the assistance of the Crim Tartars, might ravage that unhappy kingdom; but were by no means able to restore king Stanislaus. His hopes of inducing the Ottoman Port to second this party, and of convincing the divan that two hundred thousand men should be sent to their assistance, under pretence that the Czar still succoured in Poland his ally Augustus\*, was chimerical to the highest degree.

He waited the effect of so many visionary intrigues at Bender, whilst the Russians, Danes, and Saxons, were in Pomerania; and to this expedition, Peter carried his consort. The king of Denmark had already made himself master of Stade, a sea-port in the dutchy of Bremen; and

• September 2,

the

the Russian, Saxon, and Danish armies were before Stralsund \*.

Then it was that king Stanislaus, seeing the deplorable condition of so many provinces, the impossibility of recovering the throne of Poland, and every thing in confusion by the pertinacious absence of Charles the Twelfth, held a meeting of the Swedish generals, who were defending Pomerania with an army of between ten and eleven thousand men, Sweden's only and last resource in those provinces. He proposed to them an accommodation with king Augustus, and himself to be the victim of it; he spoke to them in French, and the following are his very words, according to a copy of his speech which he left with them: it was signed by nine general officers, among whom was one of the name of Patkul, cousin-german to the unfortunate gentleman of that name, who, by order of Charles the Twelfth, had been broke on the wheel.

Hitherto, I have been an instrument

\* October 12.

F 4

of

## 72 STANISLAUS MADE PRISONER.

of glory to the Swedish arms ; I will not be the wretched cause of their destruction. I here declare, that I sacrifice my crown and my own interest to the preservation of the king's sacred person, humanly seeing no other way of getting him from the place where he now remains.

Having made this declaration, he prepared to set out for Turkey, in hopes of softening the unseasonable firmness of his benefactor, by such an important sacrifice. His ill fortune brought him into Bessarabia precisely at the very time when Charles, after promising the sultan to quit his asylum, and receiving money, with an escort for his return, persisted, nevertheless, in remaining, and bad defiance to the Turks and Tartars : supported by his domestics alone, he maintained, against a whole army, the unfortunate action of Bender, where the Turks, though they might easily have killed him, only made him prisoner. Stanislaus coming at this strange juncture, was himself seized. Thus two Christian kings



kings were prisoners in Turkey at the same time.

All Europe was now in arms, and France engaged in a no less fatal war against a considerable part of Europe, to secure to a grandson of Lewis the Fourteenth the throne of Spain, when England gave peace to France, and marshal Villars, by his victory at Denain, saved that nation from its other enemies. France, for a century past, had been Sweden's ally, and thus its honour and interest were concerned that its ally should not be deprived of all his German possessions. But Bender was too far off for Charles to know what was doing in that kingdom.

The regency of Stockholm ventured to ask money of France, exhausted as it was, even at a time when Lewis the Fourteenth could not so much as pay his household. This negotiation, from which little could be expected, was committed to count Sparre; he came to Versailles, and represented to the marquis de Torcy, the utter inability of the Swedish regency to pay the small army re-

remaining to Charles the XIIth in Pomèrania; that it was on the point of dispersing for want of pay; that France's only ally was going to lose provinces, the preservation of which was necessary to the general balance; that indeed Charles the Twelfth, in the career of his victories, had too much neglected the king of France; but that Lewis the Fourteenth's generosity was equal to the misfortunes of Charles. M. de Torcy convinced the Swede, that the crown of France was unable to assist his master, and Sparre despaired of succeeding.

What Sparre had despaired of obtaining, was done by a private citizen of Paris, Samuel Barnard, a banker, who by the court remittances to foreign countries, and other contracts, had made a prodigious fortune. This man was intoxicated with a kind of honour seldom met with in his profession, being passionately fond of fame and distinction; besides, he well knew that the French ministry made ample returns for any risque in its service. Sparre dining with him one day, and flattering his foible, Barnard

nard rising from table, ordered six hundred thousand livres for the Swedish minister. After this notable action he went to the marquis de Torcy, and said to him, *I have given Sweden two hundred thousand crowns on your account; you will order me payment when you are able.*

Count Steinbock, general of Charles's army, little expected such a supply, at a time when his troops were on the point of breaking out into a mutiny: seeing the storm gather about him, and having nothing but promises to avert it, fearing also to be hemmed in by three armies of Russians, Danes, and Saxons, he had proposed a cessation of arms, thinking that Stanislaus's abdication and his presence would bring Charles XII. to relent; or that at least it behoved him to make use of negotiations, were it only to gain time and save his troops. He accordingly sent a courier to Bender, representing to the king the deplorable state of his affairs and of his troops, and informing him that the proposal of the armistice was a step of absolute necessity, and that he should



be very happy in obtaining it. This courier had not been gone three days, and Stanislaus was not yet set out, when Steinbock received from the Paris banker two hundred thousand crowns; which, in a desolate country, and at that time especially, was an immense treasure. Elate with this supply, which sets every thing to rights, he encouraged his army, procured stores and recruits, and saw himself at the head of twelve thousand men, so that instead of seeking for a suspension of arms, all his thoughts were bent on fighting.

This is the same Steinbock, who in 1710, after the defeat at Pultowa, avenged Sweden on the Danes, in an irruption they had made into Schonen: the troops under him were only militia, with strings instead of bandeliers; yet he gained a complete victory over the enemy. Like all the other generals of Charles the Twelfth, he was active and intrepid, but his courage had a great alloy of cruelty. It was he, who after a battle against the Russians, ordered all the prisoners to be put to death; and  
seeing

seeing a Polish officer of the Czar's party, who had taken hold of Stanislaus's stirrup to save his life, Steinbock shot him in that prince's arms, as hath been related in the life of Charles the Twelfth; and king Stanislaus told the author, that it was only respect and gratitude to the king of Sweden, which restrained him from breaking Steinbock's head.

General Steinbock now marched along the Wismar road towards the combined troops of the Russians, Saxons and Danes: he soon found himself near the Danish and Saxon armies, the Russians being three leagues behind. The Czar sent three couriers close after each other to the king of Denmark, desiring him to wait his coming up, and representing the danger of fighting the Swedes without a superiority in number. The king of Denmark, averse from sharing the honour of a victory of which he had made himself sure, advanced against the Swedes and attacked them, near a place called Gadebusch. This action was a fresh instance

## 78 BATTLE OF GADEBUSCH.

stance of the extreme enmity between the Swedes and Danes, the officers of both nations furiously rushing on each other, and falling dead with their wounds.

Steinbock had gained the victory before the Russians could reach the field of battle; some days after he received the king his master's answer, vehemently blaming all thoughts of an armistice, 'this infamous step,' he said, 'he would never pardon, unless repaired, and that, strong or weak, he must either conquer or die.' Steinbock however had anticipated this order by his victory.

But this victory was like that which had given a moment's comfort to king Augustus, when in the course of his misfortunes he had won the battle of Callish against the Swedes, who were every where conquerors. The victory of Callish aggravated Augustus's losses, and that of Gadebusch only retarded the ruin of Steinbock and his army.

The king of Sweden, on advice of Steinbock's victory, imagined his affairs again  
on



on a good footing. He even conceited, that he should be able to bring the Ottoman empire to declare, as it still continued to threaten the Czar with a new war. And in this hope, he ordered general Steinbock to march into Poland, ever flattering himself, on the least success, that the times of Narva, when he used to give law, were returning; these imaginations were soon after quashed by the affair of Bender, and his captivity in Turkey.

All the consequence of the victory of Gadebusch, was the reducing to ashes in the night the little town of Altena, inhabited by traders and manufacturers; a defenceless place, and which, not having taken arms, should not have been molested. It was totally destroyed: several of the inhabitants perished in the flames, and others, especially the aged and children, who had fled from the conflagration, died with fatigue and cold at the gates of Hamburg\*. Such has often been

\* Norberg, the king's chaplain and confessor, in his history, coolly says, that general Steinbock set fire to the town, only

been the fate of many thousands of men for the quarrels of two. This horrible and petty advantage was all that Steinbock obtained; the Russians, Danes and Saxons pursued him so closely, after his victory, that he was obliged to solicit shelter for himself and his army in Tonningen, a fortified place in Holstein.

Holstein was, at that time, one of the most desolated countries in the North; and its sovereign one of the most unhappy princes: he was Charles the Twelfth's own nephew. It was for his father, brother-in-law to this monarch, that Charles before the battle of Narva had carried his arms to Copenhagen itself; and it was for him, that he had made the treaty of Travendal, by which the dukes of Holstein recovered their rights.

This country was part of the nursery of the Cimbrians, and those old Normans, who besides Newstria in France, conquered all England, together with Naples and Si-

only because he had not carriages for bringing away the furniture.

cily. At present no country is less able to make conquests than this part of the ancient Chersonesus Cimbrica ; it consists only of two small dutchies, Sleswick belonging in common to the king of Denmark, and the duke of Holstein ; and Gottorp to the duke alone. Sleswick is a sovereign principality ; Holstein a member of the empire of Germany, otherwise called the Roman empire.

The king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein Gottorp were of the same house ; yet the duke, nephew to Charles XII. and his presumptive heir, had an hereditary aversion to the king of Denmark, who was oppressing him in his minority. The bishop of Lubeck, a brother of his father's, and administrator of this unfortunate pupil's dominions, saw himself between the Swedish army, which he durst not assist, and the Russian, Danish and Saxon army, which threatened extremities. Endeavours however were to be used for saving Charles's troops, without giving offence to the king of Denmark, who was now become ma-



ster of the country, and draining it of all its substance.

The bishop-administrator of Holstein was entirely governed by the famous baron Goertz, the most crafty and most enterprising of men: his vast and inventive genius, which was never at a loss for resources, thought nothing too bold, nothing too difficult; insinuating in negotiations, and daring in his schemes; a perfect master in the art of pleasing and persuading; and those whom he had gained by the blandishments of his words, he carried away by the heat of his genius. He had afterwards over Charles the Twelfth the same ascendant, which now subjected the bishop-administrator to him: and it is known, that his head paid for the honour of having governed the most inflexible and obstinate prince that ever filled a throne.

Goertz had a private conference with Steinbock at Usum\*, and promised him, he would deliver into his hands the fortress of Tonningen, without bringing into ques-

\* Bassewitz's Memoirs, January.

tion the bishop-administrator his master ; and, at the same time, the king of Denmark received assurances from him, that it should not be delivered up. This is the way that most negotiations are carried on ; affairs of state being quite different from those of private persons. The honour of ministers rests wholly on success ; and that of private persons is to keep to their word.

Steinbock appeared before Tonningen ; the governor refused to open the gates : this prevented all cause of complaint from the king of Denmark against the bishop-administrator ; but Goertz caused an order for admitting the Swedish army into Tonningen to be made out in the name of the young duke. Stamke the cabinet secretary added the duke's signature : thus Goertz only implicated a child, who had no right as yet to give orders : at the same time he served the king of Sweden, whose favour he was courting, and he obliged the bishop-administrator his master, who appeared not to consent to the admission of

## 84 GOERTZ'S INTRIGUES.

the Swedish army. The governor of Tonnigen, who was easily practised on, delivered up the town to the Swedes; and Goertz cleared himself as well as he could with the king of Denmark, protesting, that all had been done contrary to his advice.

Though the Swedish army was thus received \*, part into the town, and part under its cannon, yet did not this save it: general Steinbock was obliged to surrender himself prisoner of war with eleven thousand men, as about sixteen thousand had surrendered after the battle of Pultowa.

It was agreed that Steinbock, with his officers and soldiers, might be ransomed, or exchanged; Steinbock's ransom was settled at eight thousand Imperial crowns; an inconsiderable sum, yet for want of it, that general remained a prisoner at Copenhagen till his death.

The territories of Holstein continued under the discretion of an incensed conqueror; and the young duke was the object of

\* Bassewitz's Memoirs.



the king of Denmark's revenge, for the abuse which Goertz had made of his name. Thus Charles the Twelfth's whole family became involved in his misfortunes.

Goertz, though his schemes were baffled, still intent on acting a capital part in this confusion, reassumed a project he had entertained of procuring a neutrality for the Swedish possessions in Germany.

The king of Denmark was at the gates of Tonningen; George elector of Hanover was for having the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, with the town of Stade; Frederick-William, the new king of Prussia, had cast his eye on Stetin; and Peter the First was preparing to make himself master of Finland. Thus a partition was projected of all Charles the Twelfth's foreign dominions; but the difficulty was to reconcile such a variety of interests with a neutrality. Goertz negotiated, at the same time, with all the princes concerned in this partition: day and night he was posting from one province to another; he prevailed

vailed with the governor of Bremen and Verden, to deliver up those two dutchies to the elector of Hanover, in sequestration, lest the Danes might seize on them for themselves: by his address with the king of Prussia, that prince consented to take on him the sequestration of Stetin and Wismar, jointly with Holstein; by which means the king of Denmark would no longer molest Holstein, nor get entrance into Tonningen. It was certainly an odd way of serving Charles XII. to put his territories and strong places into the hands of those who might keep them for ever; but Goertz, by putting those powers in possession of the towns, by way of hostage, forced them to a neutrality, at least for some time; hoping, that afterwards Hanover and Brandenburg might be induced to declare for Sweden. He was also bringing into his views the king of Poland, whose ruined dominions stood in immediate need of peace: in short, he was for rendering himself a necessary man to all the princes. He disposed of Charles the Twelfth's patrimony

trimony as a guardian, who to save one part of the estate of a pupil reduced to distress, and incapable of transacting his affairs himself, sacrifices the other. All this he did, without any formal legation, without any other authority for his procedures, than a commission from the bishop of Lubeck, who himself was in no way authorized by Charles.

Such was this Goertz, whose character has not hitherto been sufficiently known: some prime ministers of potent states, as an Oxenstiern, a Richelieu, and an Alberoni, have been seen to direct the motions of part of Europe; but that the privy-counsellor only of a bishop of Lubeck should conduct such mighty operations, without being owned by any potentate, is something unprecedented.

At first all things went well\*; he concluded a treaty with the king of Prussia, by which this monarch engaged, on holding Stetin in sequestration, to preserve the rest of Pomerania for Charles XII. In consequence of this treaty, Goertz pro-

\* June 1713.



posed to Meyerfeld, governor of Pomernia, for the facilitating of a peace, to deliver up Stetin to the king of Prussia, believing the Swede, who was governor of Stetin, might be as pliant, as the Holsteiner governor of Tonningen; but Charles's officers were not used to obey such orders. Meyerfeld answered, that if Stetin was entered, it should be over his body and the ruins of the place. He acquainted his master with this strange overture: the courier found Charles a captive at Demirtash, after his adventure at Bender. It was then questioned, whether Charles would not be detained prisoner in Turkey all his life, and be sent to some island in the Archipelago or Asia. Charles, in his obscure confinement, sent to Meyerfeld the very same order he had sent to Steinbock; that he must die sooner than submit to the enemy; and be as inflexible as himself.

Goertz seeing that all his measures were disconcerted by the governor of Stetin, who would not hear of any neutrality or sequestration, formed the project, not only  
of

of having Stetin sequestered, but also Stralsund\*; and he found means to bring the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, into a like treaty for Stralsund, as he had made with the elector of Brandenburg for Stetin. He clearly saw that it was impossible for the Swedes to keep those places without money and an army; and by these sequestrations he hoped to remove the scourge of war from all the North. Denmark itself listened to Goertz's negotiations. Prince Menzikof, the Czar's general and favorite, eagerly came to his lure, being made to believe that Holstein might be given up to his master the Czar: he cajoled that monarch with the plan of drawing a canal from Holstein into the Baltic; an undertaking than which nothing could have been thought of more to the taste of this enterprizing founder; and especially with the acquisition of a new power, in condescending to be one of the princes of the German empire, and thus being entitled to a vote at the diet of Ratisbon, which he could always second with a good army.

\* June 1713.

90 STETIN DELIVERED UP.

The many different forms this volunteer negotiator assumed, the various ways he turned himself, and the many parts he acted, are without a parallel. He even engaged prince Menzikof to destroy that same city of Stetin, which that general was for saving, and to bombard it, that Meyerfeld the governor might be obliged to deliver it up on sequestration. Thus he ventured to offend the king of Sweden, whom he was for pleasing, and whom indeed, to his misfortune, he afterwards pleased too much.

The king of Prussia seeing that a Russian army was bombarding Stetin, began to fear that the place was lost to him, and would fall into the hands of Russia. This was the very point to which Goertz was for bringing him. Prince Menzikof wanting money, he procured him a loan of four hundred thousand crowns from the king of Prussia, and afterwards had the governor of the place treated with, when this question was put to him: *Which had you rather see, Stetin in ashes under the dominion of Russia, or intrusted*



*trusted to the king of Prussia, who will restore it to the king your master?* The commandant at length complied. Menzikof entered the city, and having received the four hundred thousand crowns, delivered it up with all its districts to the king of Prussia, who, for form's sake, admitted two Holstein battalions into it; but this part of Pomerania was never restored.

From that time, the second king of Prussia, successor to a weak and profuse prince, laid the foundation of that consideration and power, to which his military discipline and oeconomy has raised this country.

Baron Goertz, after setting so many springs in motion, could not prevail on the Danes to spare the province of Holstein, and lay aside their design on Tonningen. He failed in what seemed to be his chief scope; but in every thing else he succeeded, and especially in becoming a person of importance in the North, which was indeed his main design.

The

## 92 DESCENT IN FINLAND.

The elector of Hanover had already secured Bremen and Verden, Charles XII. being dispossessed of it; the Saxons were before his city of Wismar; Stetin was in the hands of the king of Prussia\*; the Russians were going to besiege Stralsund, in conjunction with the Saxons, who were already in the island of Rugen; and the Czar, in the midst of so many negotiations about neutralities and partitions, had made a descent in Finland. After having himself pointed the artillery before Stralsund, leaving the rest to his allies and prince Menzikof, he embarked in the month of May on board a fifty-gun ship built from a model of his own at Petersburg, and steered for Finland, followed by ninety-two galleys and one hundred and ten half galleys, with sixteen thousand land-forces.

The descent was made at Helfinfort†, the most southern part of this cold and barren country, and lying in sixty-one degrees northern latitude.

\* September 1713.

† May 22, 1713, N. S.

The difficulties of this descent were many, yet it succeeded: an attack was made by way of diversion on one part, whilst the descent was carried on in another; thus the troops landed, and took the town. The Czar pushing his success, made himself master of Borgo and Abo, and commanded the whole coast. The Swedes seemed now destitute of any farther resource; this happening at that very time when the Swedish army under Steinbock had surrendered prisoners of war.

All these disasters of Charles the Twelfth brought on, as we have seen, the loss of Bremen, of Verden, of Stetin, and of a part of Pomerania; king Stanislaus and Charles XII. were also prisoners in Turkey; yet did he not depart from the conceit of returning into Poland at the head of an Ottoman army, of restoring Stanislaus to the throne, and of again making all his enemies tremble.



## CHAPTER V.

### SUCCESS OF PETER THE GREAT.

*Charles the Twelfth returns to his dominions.*

PETER, in the career of his conquests, was completing his naval foundations; he brought twelve thousand families to Petersburg, kept all his allies steady to his fortune and person, though the interests of all were different, and many of their views quite opposite. His fleet at once threatened all the coasts of Sweden along the gulphs of Finland and Bothnia.

One of his generals, prince Galitzin, trained up by himself, as they all were, advanced from Helfinfort, where the Czar had landed, into the center of the country, to the town of Tavasthus, a post which covered  
Both-

Bothnia, and was defended by some Swedish regiments, with eight thousand militia. An action ensued \*, in which the Russians gained a complete victory, and dispersed the whole Swedish army; they afterwards penetrated as far as Vaza, making themselves master of the country, to the extent of fourscore leagues.

The Swedes had still a naval force with which they kept the sea. Peter above all things desirous to signalize a navy of his own forming, had left Petersburg, and got together a fleet of sixteen ships of the line, with one hundred and eighty galleys fit for working through the rocks which surround the isle of Aland, and other islands not far from the coast of Sweden. Here he met with the Swedish fleet, which in large ships was much stronger than his, but in galleys inferior, consequently fitter to fight in open sea, than among rocks; this was a superiority which the Czar owed entirely to his own genius. He served in his fleet as rear-admiral, and received orders

\* March 13, 1714.

from

from admiral Apraxin. Peter was for possessing himself of the isle of Aland, which is but twelve leagues from Sweden; in order to this he was to pass within sight of the Swedish fleet: this bold attempt was executed; the galleys cleared their way under the enemy's cannon, which indeed was not well served. The Russians got into Aland, and this coast being almost every where full of rocks, eighty-four small galleys were by dint of strength carried across a neck of land, and launched again in the sea called *Hango*, where his large ships were stationed. Erenschild the Swedish admiral concluded he should have little difficulty in taking or sinking those eighty galleys: he therefore advanced towards them, but was received with such a fire, as made a most terrible slaughter among his soldiers and sailors; his galleys and prames, with the ship on board of which he had his flag, were taken, and he himself escaping in a boat\*, was wounded, and at length obliged to surrender. He was

\* August 8.

brought



brought on board the galley which the Czar himself worked; the remainder of the Swedish fleet got safe to Sweden, but the consternation was such, that even Stockholm did not think itself safe.

At this very time Colonel Schouvalow Neushloff attacked the only fortress remaining to the Swedes on the western coast of Finland, and reduced it; but after a most obstinate resistance.

The action of Aland, next to that of Pultowa, was the most glorious of Peter's life. Now master of Finland, the government of which he left to prince Galitzin, after triumphing over the whole naval force of Sweden\*, and by his allies more respected than ever, he returned to Petersburg; the tempestuous season not allowing his longer stay in the seas of Finland and Bothnia. An increase of joy on his arrival at his new capital, was the Czarina's being delivered of a princess, but who died a year after. He instituted the order of St. Catharine in honour of

\* September 15.

his consort, and celebrated the birth of his daughter with a triumphant entry. This, of all the rejoicings to which he had accustomed his people, was what they were most fond of. In this spectacle, the first exhibition was the bringing into Cron-flot harbour nine Swedish galleys, seven prames crouded with prisoners, and admiral Erenschild's ship.

The Russian flag-ship had on board the cannon, colours, and standards taken in the conquest of Finland. All these spoils were carried to Petersburg, the Russian army marching in order of battle. The triumphal arch, which the Czar, according to custom, had himself designed, was decorated with the emblems of all his victories; under this arch passed the conquerors, headed by admiral Apraxin; the Czar followed him as rear-admiral, and the other officers according to their rank; they were all presented to the vice-Czar Romadonoski, who in such ceremonies represented the sovereign of the empire. He distributed gold medals among  
the

the officers, and every soldier and sailor had one of silver. The Swedish prisoners also passed under this arch : and admiral Erenschild immediately followed the Czar his conqueror. On coming to the throne, where the vice-Czar sat, admiral Apraxin presented to him rear-admiral Peter, who desired to be made a vice-admiral, in recompence of his services : his pretension was put to the vote, and it being readily thought right, no objection was offered.

After this ceremony, which, at the same time that it filled all who bore a part in it with joy, inspired the spectators with emulation, love of their country, and desire of glory, the Czar made this speech, which deserves to be transmitted to the latest posterity.

‘ Countrymen, is there any one among  
‘ you, who, twenty years ago, could have  
‘ thought of fighting under me in the  
‘ Baltic, and in ships built by yourselves,  
‘ and that we should be settled in those  
‘ countries, which we have conquered by  
‘ our great toils and courage ? The an-



100 SPEECH OF THE CZAR.

‘cient seat of sciences is said to have  
 ‘been in Greece; they afterwards removed  
 ‘to Italy, whence they spread themselves  
 ‘through most parts of Europe; now is  
 ‘our turn, if you will second my designs,  
 ‘and to obedience add study. Arts cir-  
 ‘culate in the world, as blood in the  
 ‘body; and perhaps they will settle their  
 ‘empire amongst us, in their return to  
 ‘Greece, their ancient country. I dare  
 ‘hope, that by our achievements and so-  
 ‘lid glory, we shall one day make the  
 ‘most civilized nations blush.’

This is the genuine substance of his  
 harangue, which well becomes a founder;  
 most translations have only enervated it;  
 but eloquent as this speech is, its greatest  
 merit is, to have been uttered by a monarch,  
 not only victorious, but the founder and  
 legislator of his empire.

The old boiards heard this speech with  
 greater regret for the abolition of their an-  
 cient usages, than joy for the increasing  
 glory of their sovereign; but the young  
 nobility were affected by it even to tears.

## CHARLES XII. QUITS TURKY. 101

These times were farther signalized \* by the arrival of the Russian ambassadors from Constantinople with a confirmation of the peace with the Turks; and a little time before, a Persian ambassador came from Cha-Uffin, bringing with him an elephant and five lions, as presents to the Czar. At the same time he received an embassy from Mehemet-Bahadir, cham of the Usbecks, soliciting his protection against other Tartars. The remotest parts of Asia and Europe expressed their regard to his grandeur.

The regency of Stockholm, exasperated by the deplorable state of affairs and the absence of the king, thus relinquishing all care of his dominions, had at length come to a resolution to consult him no longer, and immediately after the Czar's naval victory, they had asked the victor's passport for an officer, who was to carry proposals of peace. A passport was sent; but at that very juncture, princess Ulrica-Leonora, Charles the Twelfth's sister, re-

\* December 15, 1714.

ceived advice, that the king her brother was at length preparing to leave Turkey, and come in person to defend his country. This put a stop to the negotiator's journey, who had been privately appointed: they acquiesced under their ill fortune till Charles the Twelfth should come to repair it.

Accordingly Charles, after a stay in Turkey of five years and some months, left it towards the end of October, 1714. It is known, that in this journey he shewed that singularity, which characterized all his actions. He reached Stralsund the twenty-second of November, 1714. Baron Goertz was soon with him, and though the author of part of his misfortunes, he justified himself so artfully, and laid before the king such brilliant hopes, that he rivetted himself in his confidence, as he had gained that of all the ministers and princes with whom he had negotiated: he brought him to believe, that he would detach the Czar's allies from him, the consequence of which must be an honourable peace, or, at least, an equal war. From this  
moment

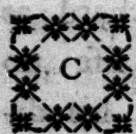


moment Goertz obtained a much greater sway over the mind of Charles, than ever count Piper could do. The first thing Charles did after his arrival at Stralsund, was to ask money from the citizens of Stockholm; what little they had, they freely parted with; there was no refusing any thing to a prince, who only asked to give, who lived as hard as the soldiery, and exposed his life no less than they: his misfortunes, his distresses, his captivity, his return, affected both his subjects and foreigners; he was blamed, admired, and assisted. His glory was quite of an opposite kind to that of Peter; it had not the least affinity with the establishment of arts, with legislation, policy and commerce; it was limited to his person: his principal merit was a very extraordinary valour; he defended his dominions with a fortitude equal to his bravery, which could not but strike nations with respect for him; he had more well-wishers than allies.



## CHAPTER VI.

*State of Europe at the return of Charles the Twelfth. Siege of Stralsund.*

 H A R L E S the Twelfth, at his return to his dominions towards the close of 1714, found Europe in a very different state from that in which he had left it. Anne, queen of England, died soon after making a peace with France; Lewis the Fourteenth had secured Spain to his grandson, and obliged the emperor of Germany, Charles the Sixth, and the Dutch, to sign a necessary peace: thus the affairs of the South of Europe were putting on a new appearance.

Those of the North had undergone a greater change; Peter was become arbiter in that part of the world. The elector of Hanover, who had been invited to the throne of England, was  
for

for enlarging his territories in Germany, at the expence of Sweden, whose German possessions were the great Gustavus's conquests. The king of Denmark was for recovering Schonen, the best province of Sweden, and which had formerly belonged to the Danes. The king of Prussia, as heir to the dukes of Pomerania, claimed, at least, part of that province: on the other hand, the house of Holstein, oppressed by the king of Denmark; and the duke of Mecklenburg, being at a kind of open war with his subjects, solicited the protection of Peter the First. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was desirous that Courland might be annexed to Poland. Thus from the Elbe to the Baltic Sea, Peter was the support, as Charles had been the terror, of all the princes.

Many were the negotiations set on foot since Charles's return, but without any progress; he thought that he could assemble a sufficient number of men of war, and not be afraid of the Czar's maritime force; and in the land war he relied on his courage;



as to the expences, Goertz, who was suddenly made prime minister, persuaded him they might be defrayed with copper coin, raised to ninety-six times above its natural value, which is certainly a prodigy in the history of government. But so early as the first of April, 1715, Peter's ships took the first Swedish privateers which put to sea; and a Russian army marched into Pomerania.

The Prussians, Danes and Saxons joined each other before Stralsund \*, and Charles the Twelfth, after returning from his prisons of Demirtash and Demirtoca, found himself besieged on the shore of the Baltic.

As it has already been related in his history, with what sedate and inflexible valour, when pent up in Stralsund, he braved the combination of all his enemies, we shall only add here a particular, which, however minute, is very expressive of his temper. The far greater part of his principal officers having been killed or wounded in the siege, baron Reichel a colonel, being wearied out with watchings

\* April, 1715.

and fatigues, having thrown himself on a bench to take an hour's rest, was called to mount guard on the ramparts; he crawled thither, cursing the king's obstinacy, and such intolerable and romantic fatigues; the king overheard his speech, ran up to him, and throwing off his cloak, spread it before him, *You are quite spent*, said he, *my dear Reichel, I have slept an hour, and am fresh; I will mount guard for you; go to sleep, and when it is time, I will give you a call.* At these words, forcing the colonel to wrap himself up in his cloak, he left him to sleep, and went and mounted guard.

It was during this famous siege of Stralsund, that the new king of England, elector of Hanover, purchased of the king of Denmark, the province of Bremen and Verden\*, which the Danes had taken from Charles the Twelfth; the purchase money amounted to 800,000 German crowns. Thus Charles's dominions were bought and sold, whilst he was defending Stral-

\* October 15.

fund inch by inch; till the place being reduced to a heap of ruins, his officers artfully forced him to quit it: when he was safe, Duker his general delivered up those ruins to the king of Prussia\*.

Some time after, Duker appearing before Charles the Twelfth, he reproached him for having capitulated with his enemies. *I had your glory too much at heart, Sir,* answered Duker, *to hold out in a town which your majesty had quitted.* However, the Prussians had not long possession of this place, such as it was, restoring it at the peace of the North in 1721.

During this siege of Stralsund, Charles received another mortification, and which would have given him more pain, had his heart been as sensible to friendship as it was to glory. His first minister, count Piper, a person well known throughout Europe, and ever faithful to his prince, (whatever so many indiscreet writers have said of him, and only on the word of one misinformed person); Piper, I say, had been

\* December 15.



## DEATH OF COUNT PIPER. 109

his victim ever since the battle of Pultowa. No cartel subsisting between the Russians and Swedes, he had remained prisoner at Moscow; and though not sent into Siberia, as so many others were, his condition was to be pitied. The Czar's finances were not then managed with due integrity, and his many new establishments required expences which he could scarce answer; he also owed no inconsiderable sum to the Dutch, for two of their merchant ships burnt on the coast of Finland. The Czar insisted that the Swedes ought to pay the money, and count Piper was brought from Moscow to Petersburg, with an offer of liberty, if he would take the debt upon him, and could draw on Sweden for about 60000 crowns in bills of exchange. It is said, that he really drew for this sum on his lady at Stockholm, but that she was either unable, or unwilling to answer the draught; and that the king of Sweden gave himself no manner of concern about the payment of it. However it  
be,

be, count Piper was confined in the castle of Schlusfelburg, where he died within a twelvemonth, aged seventy years. His body was delivered up to the king of Sweden, who indeed ordered him a very splendid funeral; an empty compensation for his many distresses and melancholy end.

Peter was satisfied with having Livonia, Estonia, Carelia, and Ingria, which he looked on as provinces of his dominions, and of having farther added to them almost all Finland, which was as a security in case a peace could be brought about. In the month of April, of the same year\*, he had married a daughter of his brother's to Charles-Leopold, duke of Mecklenburg. Thus all the princes of the North were either his allies, or his creatures. He awed king Augustus's enemies in Poland: one of his armies, of about eighteen thousand men, easily dispersed all those combinations so often shooting up in that se-

\* 1715.

minary

minary of liberty and anarchy ; and the Turks, faithful to treaties, left his powers and his designs their full range.

In this flourishing condition, almost every day produced new establishments relating to the navy, army, commerce, or the laws : he himself drew up a military code for the infantry.

He was founding a naval academy at Petersburg \*. *Lange* was setting out for China by the way of Siberia on commercial improvements ; engineers were laying down maps throughout the whole empire. The superb seat of Petershoff was building ; and at the same time forts were erecting on the Irtysh ; the depredations of the tribes of Boukaria were checked ; and in another part, the Kouban Tartars were kept in awe.

The measure of his prosperity seemed to be filled up this year †, a son being born to him by his wife Catharine, and an heir to his dominions in a son of prince Alexis ; but of the former, he

\* November 8.

† 1715.



was soon deprived by death, and we shall see, in the tragical fate of Alexis, that the birth of his son could not be accounted a happiness.

The Czarina's delivery interrupted the journeys, in which, she continually attended her husband both by land and sea; and on the first recovery of her strength, she accompanied him in new expeditions.






## CHAPTER VII.

### WISMAR TAKEN.

*The Czar again visits foreign countries.*

ISMAR was then besieged by all the Czar's allies. This town, which naturally should have belonged to the duke of Mecklenburg, stands on the Baltic Sea, seven leagues from Lubeck, and might rival it in commerce : it was formerly one of the most considerable Hanseatic towns ; and the power of the dukes of Mecklenburg over it was rather that of a protector, than of a sovereign. This was another of those German acquisitions which the peace of Westphalia had secured to the Swedes ; yet at length, like Stralsund, it was obliged to surrender. The Czar's allies lost no time

in making themselves masters of it before his troops arrived; but Peter himself coming before the town after the capitulation, which had been transacted without him, made the garrison prisoners of war\*. He highly resented that his allies should leave to the king of Denmark a town, which should belong to the prince on whom he had bestowed his niece; and this resentment, of which Goertz soon availed himself, gave the first rise to his projecting the peace between the Czar and Charles the Twelfth.

Goertz, from this moment, represented to Peter the Great that Sweden was sufficiently weakened, and that Denmark and Prussia were not to be too much aggrandized. The Czar approved his thought, having made war only as a politician; he thenceforth acted indolently against Sweden; and Charles the Twelfth being every where unfortunate in Germany, resolved to carry the war into Norway; one of those desperate steps, which success alone can justify.

\* February, 1716.



The Czar, in the mean time, undertook a second tour through Europe. The first he had made as a person who sought information in the arts and manufactures; the second he performed as a prince, desirous of coming at the secrets of foreign courts. He carried his consort to Copenhagen, to Lubeck, Schwerin and Newstadt; he had a meeting with the king of Prussia at the small town of Aversburgh; thence they proceeded to Hamburg, and Altena, lately burnt by the Swedes, but now partly rebuilt. In going down the Elbe to Stade, they passed by Bremen, where the magistrates entertained them with a firework and an illumination\*; the design of which, in a multitude of places, formed these words, *Our deliverer comes to see us*. At length he reached Amsterdam, and the little dwelling at Sardam, where about eighteen years before he had learned the art of ship-building; he now found it improved into a complete and pleasant structure, still

\* December 17, 1716.

known by the name of *the prince's house*.

It may be judged with what joy and fondness he was received by a community of traders and mariners; whose companion he had been: they looked on the victor of Pultowa as their pupil, who had founded trade and navigation in his empire, and had learnt among them to gain naval victories; they accounted him as one of their fellow-citizens raised to the imperial dignity.

In the life, the travels, and the actions of Peter the Great, as in those of Charles the Twelfth, every thing appears very different from our manners and usages, in which, perhaps, there is too much effeminacy; and on this very account we are so desirous of being acquainted with the history of those two celebrated personages.

The Czarina had remained at Schwerin indisposed, being far advanced in her third pregnancy since her marriage; however, she was no sooner able to travel, than she

she proceeded to Holland after the Czar\*. Her pains came upon her at Wesel, where she was delivered of a prince, who died the next day. With us it is not customary for a woman to travel immediately after her lying-in; but the Czarina within ten days reached Amsterdam: she was for seeing the hut at Sardam, where the Czar had worked with his own hands; they both went without any state, attended only by two servants, and dined with a rich ship-builder, named Kalf, and the first man who had traded to Petersburg. His son was just returned from France, and Peter was going thither: the Czarina and he were highly entertained with the following adventure of that young man, which I relate only, as shewing manners opposite to those of our country.

This son of ship-builder Kalf had been sent to Paris by his father to learn French; and as the old man was for having his son live in a genteel manner, he ordered him to lay aside his coarse and plain Sardam garb,

\* January 14, 1717.



and make a figure at Paris more suitable to his fortune than his education ; secure in the knowledge he had of the young man, that this change would not corrupt his frugality nor the goodness of his disposition.

*Veau* being the French word for Kalf, the Sardam traveller took the name of *Du Veau*, lived with some splendor, and contracted acquaintance. At Paris nothing is more common than to prostitute the title of marquis and count to those who have not a single lordship, and are scarce so much as gentlemen. This ridiculous practice has been always tolerated by the government ; such confusion of ranks and abasement of the nobility being found an effectual preservative against civil wars, formerly so frequent. The title of most high, noble and puissant, and mighty lord, has been assumed by ennobled upstarts, by commoners after purchasing offices at a high rate ; in a word, the names of marquis without a marquissate, of count without a county ; like those of knight without an order,

order, or abbé without an abbey; do not affect a nation.

Kalf's friends and domestics always called him the count *Du Veau*; he supped at the princesses, and played at the dutchess de Berri's; few strangers were more caressed. A young marquis, who had made one in all his parties of pleasure, promised he would come and see him at Sardam, and did so. Being arrived at the village, he enquired for count Kalf's house; he was shown into a ship-builder's yard, where he found the young man cloathed like a plain Dutch seaman, with his ax in his hand, overseeing his father's workmen. Kalf received his guest with his homespun simplicity, which he had reassumed, and never departed from. A judicious reader will pardon this small digression, as a censure on vanity, and a panegyric on virtue.

The Czar continued three months in Holland, and during his stay many things passed more important than Mr. Kalf's adventure. The Hague, ever since the peace of Nimeguen, Ryswick and Utrecht, had

been reputed the center of the negotiations of Europe. This little town, or rather village, unquestionably the most delightful of all the North, was chiefly inhabited by ministers from all courts, and by travellers resorting thither to improve themselves in this universal academy of politics. A great revolution in Europe was then on the anvil; the Czar, advised of the beginnings of these combustions, prolonged his intended stay in the Netherlands, that he might be nearer at hand, to see at once what intrigues were carrying on in the South and in the North, and to prepare for the part it would become him to act.





## CHAPTER VIII.

### Continuation of PETER THE GREAT'S Travels.

#### GOERTZ'S CONSPIRACY.

*Manner of Peter the Great's reception in  
France.*

THE Czar perceived that his allies  
were not a little jealous of his  
power; and that, very often, friends  
are more troublesome than enemies.

Mecklenburg was one of the principal  
causes of those scarce unavoidable variances  
between neighbouring princes, in a division  
of conquests. Peter was not willing the  
Danes should take Wismar for themselves,  
and much less that they should demo-  
lish

lish its fortifications; yet had they done both.

The duke of Mecklenburg, to whom he had married his niece, was openly protected by him against the nobility of the country; and they, on the other hand, had a patron in the king of England. Peter also began to be very much displeased with the king of Poland, or rather with his first minister count Fleming, who was for throwing off the yoke of dependency which had been imposed by force and acts of benevolence.

The courts of England and Poland, of Denmark and Holstein, of Mecklenburg and Brandenburg, were distracted with intrigues and cabals.

At the end of the year 1716, and the beginning of 1717, Goertz, who, according to Bassewitz's Memoirs, was weary of the bare name of counsellor of Holstein, and of being only a clandestine plenipotentiary of Charles the Twelfth, had been the first mover of all these intrigues; and he now resolved to make use of them for raising  
commo-

commotions in Europe. His scheme was to reconcile Charles the Twelfth and the Czar, not so much to put an end to their war, as to unite them, with a view of replacing Stanislaus on the throne of Poland; and dispossessing the king of England, George the First, of Bremen and Verden, and even driving him from the British throne; which would disable him from ever aggrandizing himself with the spoils of Charles.

There was at the same time a minister of his temper, who aimed at the overthrowing England and France; this was Cardinal Alberoni, whose sway in Spain exceeded that of Goertz in Sweden; bold and enterprising as himself, but with much more power, being at the head of an opulent kingdom, and not paying his creatures in no other coin than copper.

Goertz, from the distant shores of the Baltic, soon formed connexions with the court of Madrid; both Alberoni and he diligently corresponded with all the English fugitives, who had declared for the Stuart family. The Swedish minister posted into  
all



all the countries where he could meet with any of king George's enemies, as Germany, Holland, Flanders, Lorrain, and, towards the close of the year 1716, to Paris. Cardinal Alberoni began with sending him, even to Paris, a million of French livres, that he might begin *to set fire to the train*, as Alberoni expressed himself.

Goertz was for having Charles make considerable concessions to Peter, and indemnify himself on his enemies, that he might have his hands free to attempt a descent in Scotland, whilst the partisans of the Stuarts, after so many fruitless insurrections, should take up arms in England. The accomplishment of these projects required, that the king of England should be deprived of his greatest support, the regent of France. That France should be united with the king of England against the grandson of Lewis the Fourteenth, whom, at such an immense expence and effusion of blood, it had placed on the throne of Spain against the combination of so many powerful enemies, was something extraordinary; but, at that time,

time, every thing was out of its natural course, and the interest of the regent was not that of the kingdom. Alberoni was already machinating a conspiracy in France against the regent. The plan of this vast enterprize was no sooner formed, than the foundations for conducting it were laid. Goertz being first in the secret, was to go into Italy, in disguise, in order to confer with the pretender in the neighbourhood of Rome; thence he was to hasten back to the Hague, to see the Czar; and he was to put the finishing hand to all with the king of Sweden.

The writer of this history is well informed of what he asserts, Goertz having made him an offer of accompanying him in those intriguing peregrinations; and though at that time very young, he was one of the first who knew any thing of these negotiations.

The Swedish minister had returned to Holland, at the end of the year 1716, with bills of exchange from Alberoni, and the credentials of a plenipotentiary from Charles.

It

It is very certain, that the pretender's party was to have risen on Charles's making a descent from Norway into the north of Scotland. This prince, who had not been able to preserve his dominions in Germany, was going to invade those of another. And thus after the prison of Demirtash, and the ashes of Stralfund, he would crown the son of James the Second at London, as he had placed Stanislaus on the throne at Warsaw.

The Czar, who was no stranger to part of Goertz's projects, was waiting the disclosure of them without concerning himself in any; indeed, he was not let into all; he loved great and extraordinary things no less than Charles the Twelfth, Goertz, or Alberoni; but he loved them as a founder of a state, as a legislator, and as a sound politician. And perhaps Alberoni, Goertz, and Charles himself, were rather turbulent men, attempting high things, than persons of a great reach, acting on proper measures; or perhaps the charge of temerity may, after all, be only owing to their miscarriage.

When



When Goertz was at the Hague, the Czar did not see him, as that would have given too much umbrage to the States General, with whom he was in friendship, and who at the same time were in the interest of the king of England. When his ministers saw Goertz, it was only in secret, with the strictest precautions, their orders being to hear all, and give hopes, but not to involve him in any engagement. People of penetration, however, perceived by his inactivity (whilst his fleet and that of Denmark might easily have made a landing in Schonen) by his coldness towards his allies, by the complaints which transpired from their courts, and even by his journey, that a great change in affairs was in agitation, and would soon break out.

In the month of January, 1717, a Swedish packet-boat bound for Holland with letters, having been driven into a port of Norway by distress of weather, the letters were opened; those of Goertz, and some ministers, contained evident indications

cations of the Northern revolution then on the anvil. The court of Denmark, without delay, communicated those letters to the king of England. Immediately Gillenburg, the Swedish minister at London, was put under arrest, and among his papers was a part of his correspondence with the Jacobites\*.

King George wrote away immediately to Holland, requiring, that, pursuant to the treaties between England and the States General, for their mutual security, baron Goertz might be put under arrest. This minister, who every where made himself creatures, received notice of the order, and had already reached Arnheim on the frontiers; but the party of horse sent after him, being more expeditious than is usual in that country, he was apprehended, his papers seized, and his person treated with some indignity. Secretary Stank, the very person who had counterfeited the duke of Holstein's signature in the affair of Tonningen, was used still

\* February, 1717.

worse;

worse; in fine, count Gillenburg, the Swedish envoy in England, and baron Goertz, plenipotentiary of Charles the Twelfth, were examined, one at London, the other at Arnheim, like two criminals. All the public ministers exclaimed against this procedure, as a violation of the law of nations.

This law, which is much oftener appealed to, than well understood, and the extent and limits of which have never been fixed, has in all times suffered many violations. Several ministers have been ignominiously ordered to depart the courts where they resided; but to examine foreign ministers, or subjects of the country, was without a precedent. The court of London and the States, seeing the danger which threatened the house of Hanover, overlooked forms and rules; though, on the discovery of the danger, it could not be said any longer to subsist, at least not in the present juncture.

The historian Norberg must either have been strangely misinformed, or little ac-



quainted with men and affairs, or extremely blinded by partiality, or, at least, restrained by his court, that he should endeavour to make the world believe the king of Sweden had not gone very deep into this conspiracy.

The affronts to his ministers, whetted his resolution to use every means for dethroning the king of England: once in his life, however, he was reduced to dissimulation; disowning to the regent of France, who gave him a subsidy, and to the States, with whom he was for preserving a good understanding, the proceedings of those ministers: with king George, he did not condescend to such satisfaction. Goertz and Gillenburg were detained near six months; and this long outrage confirmed him in all his vindictive projects.

Peter, amidst so many alarms and jealousies, avoiding all engagements, waiting the result of time, and having put his vast dominions in such order, as to have nothing to fear, at home or abroad,  
resolved

resolved to visit France: though being ignorant of the language, he must necessarily lose many advantages of such a journey; but he thought there was much to see, and he was for informing himself, on the spot, on what terms the regent of France was with England, and whether that prince was well settled in his power.

Peter the Great was received in France, as he ought to have been: marshal Tefle, with many of the nobility, a squadron of the guards, and the king's coaches, were immediately sent to meet him; but according to custom, he had travelled at such a rate, as to reach Gournay, when the equipages had got no farther than Elbeuf. On the road more honours and entertainment were offered to him than suited his expedition. He was first received at the Louvre, where the great apartment was prepared for himself; and others for his retinue, the princes Kourakin and Dolgorouki, the vice-chancellor baron Shaffiroff, and the ambassador Tolstoy, who had been so injuriously treated

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in Turkey. All this court was to be magnificently lodged and entertained; but Peter, being come to see what might be of use to him, and not to pass through vain ceremonies, so disagreeable to his simplicity, and which wasted his time, went, that very evening, and lodged at the other end of the town, in the hotel de Lesdiguiere, belonging to marshal Villeroy, where he was feasted as at the Louvre\*: the next day the regent paid him a visit at this hotel. The day following, the king, then a child, was brought to him, led by the marshal Villeroy, his governor, and whose father had been governor to Lewis XIV. The Czar was artfully saved the trouble of returning the royal visit till two days after, when receiving the compliments of the city of Paris, in the evening he paid his visit to the king: the household troops were under arms, and the young prince was brought to the Czar's coach. Peter no less uneasy, than surprised at the crowd which throng'd about the royal child, took him and carried him for some time in his arms.

\* May 8, 1717.

Some



Some ministers of more subtilty than judgment, have written, that marshal Ville-roy was for giving the precedence to the king of France, but that the emperor of Russia disappointed the ceremonial, by an assumed shew of affection; a supposition absolutely false: besides, it was inconsistent with French politeness, and the regard due to Peter the Great, to intermix with the honours paid to him any subject of disgust. The ceremonial consisted in doing for a great monarch, and a great man, whatever he himself could have desired, had he minded such punctilios. The journeys of the emperors Charles the Fourth, Sigismund, and Charles the Fifth, into France, were very far from being comparable in celebrity, to the stay which Peter the Great made there: it was only political interests which drew those princes into France, and they did not come at a time, when the arts, by the perfection they are now brought to, could make a memorable epocha of their journey. But Peter the Great happening to dine with the duke D'Antin at the seat

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of Petitbourg, three leagues from Paris, and after the entertainment, perceiving that his picture, newly drawn, had been suddenly put up in the dining-room, he was convinced that the French, above any other people in the world, knew how to receive so noble a guest.

He was still more surprized, when going to see medals struck in that long gallery of the Louvre, where all the king's artists have such elegant apartments, a medal, on being struck, fell on the floor, and the Czar eagerly stooping to take it up, found it to be a medal of himself, and on the reverse, a Fame, with these words of Virgil, so suitable to Peter the Great, *Vires acquirit eundo*: a delicate and noble allusion, and equally adapted to his travels and reputation. The Russian monarch, and all his attendants, were presented with some of these medals in gold. On his visiting the artists, all the finest pieces were laid at his feet, with an humble request, that he would deign to accept of them. And when he went to see the tapestry of the  
*Gobelins,*

*Gobelins*, the carpets of the *Savonnerie*, the working-rooms of the king's sculptors, painters, goldsmiths, and mathematical instrument-makers; whatever seemed particularly to engage his eye, was offered to him in the king's name. Peter being a mechanic, an artist, and a geometrician, went to the academy of sciences, which, in honour to him, displayed its most striking rarities; but he was himself the greatest rarity. With his own hand, he corrected several geographical errors in the maps there shewn him of his dominions, and especially those of the Caspian Sea. In short, he was pleased to become one of the members, and afterwards kept up a constant correspondence of experiments and discoveries with that illustrious body. To find such travellers, we must have recourse to the Pythagorases and the Anacarsises; and they had not quitted an empire to improve their knowledge.

The reader, I promise myself, will not be displeased with the mention of the Czar's rapture at seeing the tomb of cardinal Riche-



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lieu : the beauty of that master-piece of sculpture scarce attracted his eye ; his admiration was ingrossed by the image of a minister, who had made himself famous throughout Europe, by the disturbances he raised ; and who had restored to France that glory which it had lost, after the death of Henry the Fourth. He is known to have embraced the statue with this exclamation, *Thou great man, I would have given thee one half of my dominions, to learn of thee to govern the other.* Before he left Paris, he intimated that he would willingly see that celebrated lady, madam de Maintenon, whom he knew to be the real widow of Lewis XIV. and who was now drawing near to her end. The kind of similarity between the marriage of Lewis XIV. and his, raised an eager curiosity in him : but between the king of France and him, there was this difference ; the latter had publicly espoused a heroine, and Lewis only an agreeable wife, and that in private. In this journey, he did not take the Czarina with him, fearing

fearing the incumbrances of ceremony, and the curiosity of a court, little qualified to estimate the merit of a woman, who, from the banks of the Pruth to the shores of Finland, had, at her husband's side, faced death both by sea and land.

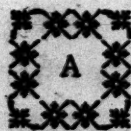




## CHAPTER IX.

The CZAR's return to his dominions.

*His policy and occupations.*



Procedure of the Sorbonne, when the Czar went to see cardinal Richelieu's mausoleum, deserves to be distinctly mentioned,

Some doctors of that college were desirous of the glory of reuniting the Greek and Latin churches. They who are acquainted with antiquity must know, that Christianity was brought into the West by the Asiatic Greeks, that it is of Eastern origin, that the first councils, the first liturgies, the first rites, all came from the East; that there is not so much as one single term of dignity and office, which is not Greek, and does not still manifest the source whence

we



PETER LEAVES FRANCE. 139

we derive our religion. On the division of the Roman empire, it was natural that there would be, soon or late, two religions, as there were two empires, and that a like schism would arise between the East and West christians, as between the Turks and Persians.

This is the schism which some doctors of the university at Paris thought to extinguish at once, by presenting a memorial to Peter the Great; it was what neither pope Leo the Ninth, nor his successors, had been able to bring about by legates, councils, and even by money. These doctors should have known, that Peter the Great, being chief of his church, would be little inclined to acknowledge the pope. In vain did they set forth, in their memorial, the liberties of the Gallican church, which the Czar never troubled himself about; in vain did they assert, that popes were subject to councils, and that a decree of the supreme pontiff is not a rule of faith. Their memorial only gave great offence to the court of Rome, without  
pleasing

pleasing either the emperor, or the church of Russia.

- In this plan of reunion were some political objects which they did not understand, and some points of controversy which they said they understood, and which each party explained according to their humour. The question was about the Holy Ghost, who, according to the Latins, proceeds from the Father and the Son; and according to the Greeks, at present, proceeds from the Father, through the Son, after having, for a long time, proceeded from the Father only. They quoted St. Epiphanius, who says, *that the Holy Ghost is not the Son's brother, nor the Father's grandson.*

But the Czar, at leaving Paris, had other business than to explain passages from St. Epiphanius; however, he received the Sorbonne's memorial with great affability: they also wrote to some Russian bishops, who returned a polite answer; but the greater number received the overture with indignation.

It

It was to dissipate the apprehensions of this reunion, that some time after, when, in 1718, he had expelled the Jesuits out of his dominions, he instituted the farce called *The Conclave*.

There was at his court one Jotoff, now advanced in years, and a court-fool of a long standing; he had taught the Czar to write, and, by this service, imagined he deserved the highest dignities. Peter, who sometimes enlivened the cares and vexations of government by diversions suited to a people, as yet only emerging from rudeness, promised his writing-master, that he would confer on him one of the most eminent dignities in the known world: he created him *Knes Papa*, with a salary of 2000 rubles, and a house at Petersburg, in the Tartar ward. Jotoff was enthroned by buffoons; four fellows, who stammered, were appointed to harangue him on his exaltation; his mock holiness created a number of cardinals, and walked in procession at the head of them; every member of this sacred



cred college being first made drunk with brandy. This Jotoff dying, an officer, named Butterlin, succeeded him in his dignity. Moscow and Peterfburg have three times seen the renewal of this ludicrous ceremony; which appeared to have no sort of meaning, while in reality it confirmed the people in their averfion to a church that pretended to a fupreme power, and the head of which had anathematized fo many potentates. Thus the Czar, by way of jeft, revenged the caufe of twenty emperors of Germany, ten kings of France, and a multitude of fovereigns. This was all the advantage which accrued to the Sorbonne, from its chimerical project of uniting the Greek and Latin churches.

The Czar's journey into France proved much more beneficial by his connexion with that kingdom, the trade of which is fo extenfive, and the inhabitants fo ingenious, than by the projected reunion of two rival churches, of which, one will always maintain its ancient independency, and the other will not depart from its modern fuperiority.

Peter

Peter carried back with him several French artists, as before he had taken not a few from England: all nations where he travelled prided themselves in seconding his design of transporting the arts into a new country, and in concurring to this kind of creation.

Even then he drew up the minutes of a treaty of commerce with France, and on his return to Holland, he put it into the hands of his ministers at that court. It was the fifteenth of August, 1717, before it was signed by Chateauneuf, the French ambassador. This treaty, besides the commerce, related also to the peace of the North. The king of France, and the elector of Brandenburg, were nominated as mediators in his draught of it, and they assented to that title. This was a sufficient indication to the king of England, that the Czar was not pleased with him; and at the same time it elevated Goertz's hopes to the highest pitch, who now exerted himself to the utmost in reconciling Peter and Charles, raising up enemies to George, and lending

ing a hand to cardinal Alberoni, from one end of Europe to the other. Baron Goertz now publicly visited the Czar's ministers at the Hague, and notified to them, that he had full power from Sweden to conclude a peace.

The Czar let Goertz prepare all his batteries without stirring a finger himself; ready to make peace with the king of Sweden, and no less to continue the war, still connected with Denmark, Poland, Prussia, and even, in appearance, with the elector of Hanover.

Nothing can be more evident, that he had no other fixed design than to take advantage of conjunctures. His capital view was to complete all his new establishments: as to the negotiations and interests of princes, their leagues, their friendships, their mistrusts, their enmities, he knew them liable to change almost every year; and often not a single trace remains of so many political efforts. One single manufacture well settled does more good sometimes to the state than twenty treaties.



Peter having rejoined his consort, who was waiting for him in Holland, continued his travels with her; they crossed Westphalia, and arrived at Berlin, without any state. The new king of Prussia was not less an enemy to the vanities of ceremony and magnificence than the Russian monarch. A king in a wooden arm-chair, and cloathed like a common soldier, denying himself all the delicacies of the table, and all the conveniencies of life, was a document to the *etiquette* of Vienna and Spain, the *punctilio* of Italy, and the predominant fondness for luxury in France.

The manner of living of the Czar and Czarina, was in the like plainness and severity; and had Charles the Twelfth been with them, four crowned heads would have been seen together, with less fastuousness about them, than a German bishop, or a Roman cardinal: never had luxury and indulgence been opposed by such noble examples.

It must be owned, that among us, a person, who once in his life, out of curiosity, had travelled only the fifth part as far as Peter travelled for the advantage of his dominions, would draw the public eye on him, and be esteemed a very extraordinary person. From Berlin, his consort still accompanying him, he went to Dantzick ; at Mittau, he protected the dutchess of Courland, his niece, now a widow, and made a tour through all his conquests ; at Petersburg, he issued new regulations, and from thence proceeded to Moscow, where he gave orders for rebuilding all the ruinous houses of private persons : thence he hastened to Czarisin on the Wolga, to check the incursions of the Cuban Tartars : he threw up lines from the Wolga to the Tanais, and erected forts at certain distances from one river to another. Amidst these various occupations he caused his military code to be printed, and established a commission for enquiring into the conduct of his ministers, and for rectifying abuses in the finances : some of  
the

the delinquents he pardoned, punishing others ; prince Menzikoff himself was amongst those who stood in need of his clemency. But a more rigorous sentence, which he thought it his duty to pronounce against his own son, filled a glorious life with affliction.





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## CHAPTER X.

### *Trial of Prince Alexis Petrowitz.*

PETER the Great had, in 1689, when aged only seventeen years, married Eudoxia-Theodora, or Theodorouna Lapoukin. As she had been brought up in all the prejudices of her country, and not shaken them off, in imitation of her husband, the greatest opposition he met with in his design of creating an empire and forming men, came from his wife. She was swayed by that superstition which so often takes root in her sex: the innovations so highly useful, in her eye were so many sacrileges, and all the foreigners employed by the Czar in the prosecution of his great schemes, she looked on as corruptors.

The

The openness of her complaints encouraged the factions, and the partizans of the former customs; and her behaviour in other respects, did not make amends for faults of so heavy a nature. Thus, in 1696, the Czar found himself obliged to repudiate her, and to shut her up in a convent at Susdal, where she was made to take the veil, under the name of Helen. The son, of whom she was delivered in 1690, unfortunately brought into the world with him his mother's disposition, which gathered strength by the first elements of his education. My papers tell me, that he was committed to superstitious persons, who utterly vitiated his mind. In order to correct those first impressions, foreign preceptors were put about him; but even for their being foreigners, he hated them. He was not born without capacity; he spoke and wrote German very well; he had a good hand at drawing; he also made some progress in mathematics; but the same papers, which have been intrusted to me, affirm, that the

reading of ecclesiastical books was the ruin of him. Those books appeared to Alexis, as so many execrations of all his father was doing; among the heads of the malecontents were several priests, and by priests young Alexis was governed.

They persuaded him, that the whole nation abhorred his father's projects; that from the frequent indispositions of the Czar, it might be concluded he was not long-lived; that the best and only way for his son to please the people, was to shew a dislike of novelties. These murmurs and advices did not rise to an open faction, much less to a conspiracy; yet every thing seemed to have that tendency, and the public were inflamed.

But what exasperated the young prince most of all, was his father's marriage with Catharine in 1707, and the fertility of that marriage. Peter tried all possible means to reclaim him; he even put him at the head of the regency for a twelvemonth; he sent him to travel; and in 1711, after the campaign of the Pruth, he married him



him to the princess of Brunswick, as we have before related. This proved a very unhappy match; for Alexis, who was in the twenty-third year of his age, gave himself up to all the debaucheries of youth, and to the stupidity of the ancient customs, to which he was so attached; whilst his insulted wife, destitute of all comfort, and even necessaries, lingered in affliction, till it put an end to her life, the first of November, 1715.

She left to prince Alexis a son, of whom she had lately been delivered, and who naturally, in time, should have succeeded to the empire. Peter, with extreme grief, perceived that, on his decease, all his labours would be destroyed by his very issue. After the death of the princess, he wrote to his son a letter, equally pathetic and menacing; the conclusion of it was thus: *I will still wait a while, to see if you will amend; if not, know, that I will deprive you of the succession, as a useless limb is cut off. Do not imagine I am only frightening you, nor would I have you rely on the*

*title of being my eldest son; for since I do not spare my own life, for the good of my country and the prosperity of my people, why should I spare yours? I shall rather commit them to a stranger, deserving such a trust, than to my own undeserving offspring.*

This letter becomes a father, and still more a legislator; it also shows the order of succession not to have been invariably established in Russia, as in other monarchies; where parents, by the fundamental law, cannot exclude their sons; and the Czar conceived, that he had more particularly the power of disposing of an empire, which he himself had founded.

At this very juncture, the empress Catharine was delivered of a prince, who died in 1719. Whether the above letter disheartened Alexis, or whether it was imprudence or bad advice, he wrote to his father, that he renounced the crown, and all hopes of reigning. *God is my witness,* said he, *and I swear upon my soul, that I will never claim the succession: I commit*

*my children into your hands, and for myself, desire only a subsistence during life.*

His father wrote to him a second time. I observe, says he, *that all you speak of in the letter, is the succession, as if I stood in need of your consent. I have represented to you, what grief your behaviour has given me for so many years, and not a word do you say of it; the exhortations of a father make no impression on you. I have brought myself to write to you once more; but for the last time. If you despise my counsels now I am living, what regard will be paid to them after my death? Though you may now mean not to violate your promises, yet those bushy beards will be able to wind you as they please, and inforce you to break your word.——It is you those people rely on. You have no gratitude to him who gave you life. Since you have been of proper age, did you ever assist him in his labours? don't you find fault with, don't you detest every thing I do for the good of my people? I have all the reason in the world to believe, that if you survive me, you will overthrow all that I have been doing. Amend,*  
make



*make yourself worthy of the succession, or turn monk. Let me have your answer either in writing, or personally, or I will deal with you as a malefactor.*

Though this letter was harsh, the prince might have easily answered, that he would alter his behaviour; but he, in a few lines, only acquainted his father that he would turn monk.

This assurance did not appear natural; and it is something strange that the Czar, going to travel, should leave behind him a son so obstinate: but this very journey proves that the Czar was in no manner of apprehension of a conspiracy from his son.

He went to see him before he set out for Germany and France; the prince being ill, or feigning to be so, received him in bed, and confirmed to him, by the most solemn oaths, that he would retire into a convent. The Czar gave him six months for deliberation, and set out with his consort.

He had scarce reached Copenhagen, when he received advice (which was no  
more

more than he might well conceive) that Alexis admitted into his presence only evil-minded persons, who humoured his discontent : on this the Czar wrote to him, that he must chuse the convent, or the throne ; and, if he valued the succession, to come to him at Copenhagen.

The prince's confidants instilled into him a suspicion, that it would be dangerous for him to put himself into the hands of a provoked father and a mother-in-law, without so much as one friend to advise with. He therefore feigned as if he were going to wait on his father at Copenhagen, but he took the road to Vienna, and threw himself on the emperor Charles the Sixth, his brother-in-law, making account to continue at his court till the Czar's death.

This was an adventure something like that of Lewis XIth, who, whilst he was Dauphin, withdrew from the court of Charles the Seventh, his father, to the duke of Burgundy. Lewis was indeed much more culpable than the Czarowitz, by  
marrying

marrying in direct opposition to his father, raising troops, and seeking refuge with a prince, his father's natural enemy, and never returning to court, not even at the king's repeated entreaties.

Alexis, on the contrary, had married purely in obedience to the Czar's order, had not revolted nor raised troops; neither indeed had he withdrawn to a prince in any wise his father's enemy, and on the first letter he received from his father, he went and threw himself at his feet. For Peter, on receiving advice that his son had been at Vienna, and from thence had removed to Naples, then belonging to the Emperor Charles VI, sent away captain Romanzoff of the guards, and Mr. Tolstoi, a privy-counsellor, with a letter of his own writing, dated from Spa, the 21st of July, N. S. 1717. They found the Prince at Naples, in the castle of St. Elmo, and delivered him the letter, which was as follows:

*..... I now write to you, and for the last time, to let you know that you had best*

*com-*



*comply with my will, which Tolstoi and Romanzoff will make known to you. On your obedience, I assure you, and promise before God, that I will not punish you; so far from it, that if you return, I will love you better than ever. But if you do not, by virtue of the power I have received from God, as your father, I pronounce against you my eternal curse; and as your sovereign, I assure you, I shall find ways to punish you; in which I hope, as my cause is just, God will take it in hand, and assist me in revenging it.*

*Remember farther, that I never used compulsion with you. Was I under any obligation to leave you to your own option? Had I been for forcing you, was not the power in my hand? At a word speaking, I should have been obeyed.*

The vice-roy of Naples had little difficulty in persuading Alexis to return to his father, which to me seems an incontestible proof that the emperor of Germany would enter into no exceptionable engagement with this young prince. Alexis had brought his mistress Aphrosina with him, and carried her back.

In

In going to Vienna and Naples, instead of Copenhagen, he might be looked on as an ill-advised young man. Had this been his only fault, as common to so many young persons, it was pardonable. His father called God to witness, that he would not only pardon, but would love him better than ever. On this assurance, Alexis set out; but, from the information of the two envoys who brought him back, and by the Czar's own letter, it appears, that the father required of his son to declare his advisers, and that he should execute his oath of renouncing the succession.

It seemed difficult to reconcile this disinheri-  
tance with the other oath in the Czar's  
letter, of loving his son more than ever;  
perhaps the father, in the conflict between  
paternal affection and reasons of state,  
meant only to love his son as a recluse;  
perhaps he might still hope to reclaim  
him; and by bringing him to a due sense  
of the loss of a crown, render him worthy  
of the succession. In such critical, such  
painful

painful junctures, it may easily be thought that the hearts of the father and son were at first too much agitated to rest in any fixed determination.

The prince, on the 13th of February, 1717, N. S. reached Moscow, where the Czar then was. That very day he went and paid his duty to his father, and was very long in private with him. A report immediately was spread through the city, of a reconciliation between the father and son, and that every thing was forgot ; but the very next day, the regiments of guards were ordered under arms, and the great bell of Moscow tolled. The boiards, the privy-counsellors, were summoned to the castle ; the bishops, the archimandrites, and two of the religious of the order of St. Basil, professors of divinity, met in the cathedral. Alexis was carried into the castle before his father, without a sword, and as a prisoner ; he immediately prostrated himself, and with a flood of tears delivered to his father a writing, in which he acknowledged his crimes, declared him-  
self



self unworthy of the succession, and all he asked was his life. The Czar raising him up, led him to a closet, where he put several questions to him, declaring, that if he concealed any thing relating to his escape, his head should answer for it. Afterwards the prince was brought back into the council-chamber, where the Czar's declaration, which had been drawn up beforehand, was publicly read.

The father in this piece reproached his son with the several particulars we have before specified, his remissness in improving himself, his intimacy with the sticklers for ancient customs, his misbehaviour towards his consort: *he has, says he, violated conjugal faith, taking up with a low-born wench, whilst his wife was living.* Peter, indeed, had repudiated his wife to make way for a captive, but this captive was a person of very extraordinary merit, and he had very great cause to be displeased with his wife, who was his subject; whereas Alexis had slighted his wife for an obscure girl, whose only merit was her beauty. Hitherto we meet with

with only faults of youth, which a father should reprove, and may pardon.

He afterwards reproaches him with going to Vienna, and putting himself under the emperor's protection. He says, that Alexis had *slandered his father*, intimating to the emperor Charles VI, that he was persecuted ; and that a longer stay in Muscovy was dangerous, unless he renounced the succession ; nay, that he went so far as to desire the emperor openly to defend him by force of arms.

It is hardly conceivable how the emperor, on such an account, could have made war with the Czar, and how between an incensed father and a refractory son, he could interpose in any other manner, than by good offices. Accordingly, Charles VI. had only entertained the prince, and on the Czar's demanding him, he was sent back.

In this tremendous piece, Peter adds, that Alexis had made the emperor believe that his life was not safe, if he returned into Russia. And indeed to condemn him to death

on his return, and especially after a promise of pardon and greater affection, was, in some measure, a justification of Alexis's complaints: but we shall see what moved the Czar to pass such a singular sentence. In a word, an absolute sovereign was here seen pleading against his son.

*Such was the manner, says he, in which our son returned; and though his flight and his calumnies deserved death, those crimes our fatherly affection forgives: but his notorious unworthiness and immorality will not allow us, in conscience, to leave him the succession to the empire, it being too manifest, that by his ill conduct the glory of the nation would be subverted, so as to occasion the loss of all the provinces recovered by our arms. Our subjects would be extremely to be pitied; since, leaving them under such a successor, would be plunging them into a condition much worse than any they have ever experienced.*

*Accordingly by our paternal power, in virtue of which, according to the laws of our empire, every private subject of ours can at pleasure disinherit a son, and pursue*



*suant to our prerogative as sovereign, and in regard to the welfare of our dominions, we for ever deprive our said son Alexis of succeeding after us to the throne of Russia, on account of his crimes and unworthiness; even though not a single person of our family should exist at the time of our decease.*

*And we constitute, appoint, and declare, in the want of a more aged successor, our second son \* Peter, young as he is, successor to the said throne after us.*

*Accursed be our above-mentioned son Alexis; if ever, at any time, he shall claim the said succession, or go about to procure it.*

*We also require our faithful subjects, ecclesiastics or seculars, as well as every other state, and the whole nation, that, pursuant to this appointment, and our will, they acknowledge and consider our said son Peter, nominated by us to the succession, as our lawful successor, and that, conformably to this present ordinance, they confirm the whole by oath at the altar, on the holy gospels, and kissing the cross.*

\* Son of the empress Catharine; but who died 15 Apr. 1719.

*And all those who shall, at any time whatever, oppose this our will, and who, from the date hereof, shall dare to consider our son Alexis as successor, or assist him to that end, we declare them traitors to us and their country, and we have ordered these presents to be every where published, that no person may plead ignorance. Given at Moscow, the 13th of February, N.S. 1718. Signed with our hand, and sealed with our seal.*

These instruments were certainly got in readiness, or at least drawn up with extreme dispatch, prince Alexis not returning till the 13th, and his disinherittance, in favour of Catharine's son, is dated the 14th.

The prince, on his side, signed a renunciation to the succession. *I acknowledge, says he, this exclusion to be just, I have deserved it by my unworthiness, and I swear, in the name of the sacred and almighty Trinity, to submit myself in every thing to my father's will.*

These instruments being signed, the Czar proceeded to the cathedral, where they went

went through a second reading, and all the ecclesiastics testified their approbation, by signing at the bottom of another copy. Never was prince disinherited in so authentic a manner. There are many states where such an act would be of no validity; but in Russia, as among the ancient Romans, every father could disinherit his son; and this is much stronger in a sovereign than in a subject, and especially in such a sovereign as Peter.

It was, however, to be feared, that those very persons who had spirited up the prince against his father, and had advised his elopement, might one day endeavour to overthrow a renunciation, imposed by force, and to restore to the eldest son the crown, which had been injuriously transferred to the youngest, who also was by a second venter; in such a case, the certain consequence would be a civil war, and this would bring on the loss of all Peter's glorious conquests, and the ruin of all his useful establishments. The question lay between the welfare of near eighteen million of men,



the number which Russia was then judged to contain, and one single person, and he not capable of governing. It being therefore of the highest importance to know the disaffected, the Czar again threatened his son with capital punishment should he conceal any thing from him. Thus the prince underwent a second interrogation by his father, and afterwards by commissioners.

One of the articles which hastened his condemnation, was a letter from Mr. Beyer, the emperor's resident at Petersburg, written after the prince's elopement: the substance of this letter was, that the Russian army in Mecklenburg had mutinied; that several officers talked of sending the new Czarina and her son to the prison, where the repudiated Czarina was confined, and of placing Alexis on the throne, when it should be known where he was. There had been indeed a sedition in that army of the Czar's, but it was soon suppressed, and nothing farther appeared. Alexis could never have encouraged

raged such reports ; a foreigner spoke of them as a piece of news ; the letter was not directed to prince Alexis, he had only a copy of it, and that sent him from Vienna.

A much heavier charge, was a rough draught in his own hand, of a letter written from Vienna, to the senators and archbishops of Russia, and the terms of it were strong : *The continual injuries which I have undeservedly suffered, have obliged me to quit my country ; it was very narrowly I escaped being clapped up in a convent : they who have confined my mother, were about using me in the same manner. I am under the protection of a great prince. It is my desire you will not forsake me at present.* The words *at present*, which might have been looked on as seditious, were drawn through with a pen, and afterwards replaced with his own hand ; then again effaced ; which shewed a young man under perturbation, giving himself up to his resentment one minute, and repenting of it the next ; only the rough draught of these letters was found, for they never came

to hand, being stopped by the court of Vienna ; another, no inconsiderable proof, that this court was not for quarrelling with that of Russia, and supporting the son against the father with an armed force.

The prince was confronted with several witnesses, one of whom, Afanassief by name, maintained, that he had formerly heard him say : *I will say something to the bishops, and they will tell it among the priests, and the priests to their parishioners, and I shall be placed on the throne, even though it were against my will.*

One of the evidences against him, was his own mistress, Aphrosina ; none of the accusations were very precise ; instead of a digested plan, a connected intrigue, a conspiracy, or an association, and still less any preparatives, here was only a discontented, unruly son, complaining of his father, flying from his presence, and even wishing for his death : but this son was heir to the greatest monarchy of our hemisphere ; and, in his situation, no fault is small.

Besides



Besides his mistress's depositions, he was farther accused with relation to the late Czarina his mother, and his sister, princess Mary. He was charged with having consulted his mother about his elopement, and mentioning it to his sister. A bishop of Rostou, confident to all three, being apprehended, deposed, that those two princesses, who were confined in a convent, had intimated some hopes of a change which would set them at liberty, and it was at their advice and instances, that the prince had fled into Germany, instead of waiting on his father at Copenhagen. Their resentment being natural, was the more dangerous; and as to the bishop, we shall know more of him at the end of this chapter.

At first, Alexis denied several facts of this nature, and by his very denials, exposed himself the more to a capital sentence, with which his father had threatened him, if he did not make a general and sincere confession.

At length he owned, that some disrespectful

spectful words against his father, with which he was charged, had dropped from him ; but pleaded passion and drunkenness.

The Czar himself drew up the other interrogatory articles, the fourth of which ran thus,

*When you saw by Beyer's letter, that there was a revolt in the Mecklenburg army, you was glad of it ; I apprehend you had some view, and that you would have declared for the rebels even in my life-time ?*

This was questioning the prince on his secret sentiments, which, if they may be owned to a father, who, by his counsels, would rectify them, may be concealed from a judge, as he is to determine only from attested facts : the hidden sentiments of the heart are not within the cognizance of a court of judicature. Alexis might have denied them, or easily have thrown a veil over them, he was not obliged to lay open his mind ; yet he answered, and in writing : *Had the rebels invited me in your life-time, I should probably have joined them, had they been strong enough.*

That.

That of himself he should give such an answer, is inconceivable; and no less extraordinary would it be, at least according to the European usages, to have condemned him for thoughts, which he might have had, in regard to a case which however did not happen.

To this strange confession of his most secret sentiments, of which he had never given the most distant intimation, were added proofs, which, in more than one country, are not admitted in a court of justice.

The distressed prince, bewildered with all the openness of fear, recollecting within himself, whatever might conduce to his ruin; at length owned, that in confession to the arch-priest Jaques, he had accused himself before God, *that he had wished his father's death*; and that the confessor made answer, *God will forgive you; it is no more than what we all wish.*

All proofs derived from auricular confession are, by the canons of the church, not to be received at the bar; these are secrets between



tween God and the penitent : the Greek church believes no more than the Latin, that this private and sacred correspondence between a sinner and the Deity appertain to human law : but the state and a sovereign were concerned. Jaques the ecclesiastic being put to the torture, owned what the prince had revealed. It was a very uncommon circumstance to see the confessor accused by his penitent, and the penitent by his mistress. Another singularity in this affair was, that the archbishop of Rezan having been entangled in the accusations, on account of the sermon which he had preached in favour of the Czarowitz, at the first appearance of the Czar's indignation against his son ; this prince, in his interrogatories, owned, that he relied on that prelate ; yet, as we shall soon see, this very same archbishop of Rezan was at the head of the ecclesiastical judges, whom the Czar consulted on the present arraignment.

An essential remark offers itself in this strange trial, which has been very ill digested in the rude history of Peter the First,

First, by the fictitious Boyar Nesterusanoi, and the remark is this.

In Alexis's answers to his father's first interrogatory, he owned, that when he was at Vienna, where he did not see the emperor, he applied to count Schonborn, a lord of the bedchamber, who said to him, *The emperor will not forsake you; and, at a proper season, after your father's demise, he will assist you with an armed force to ascend the throne.* My answer was, added the accused prince, *that is not what I ask: all I desire is, that the emperor will be pleased to grant me his protection.* This deposition is plain and natural, and carries with it a great appearance of truth: for to have asked troops of the emperor, to go and dethrone his father, would have been the very height of folly; and no body would have dared to have mentioned such an absurd proposal either to prince Eugene, or to the council, or to the emperor. This deposition was in the month of February, and four months after, on the first of July, towards the conclusion of these

these procedures, the Czarowitz, in his last answer, is made to say in writing :

‘ Intending in nothing to imitate my father, I endeavoured to come at the succession at any rate whatever. I was for having it by foreign assistance ; and if I had got my ends, and the emperor had done *what he promised me*, to procure me the crown of Russia, even by open force, I would have spared nothing to have secured myself in the succession. For instance, had the emperor asked me, in return, some of my country troops for his service against any of his enemies, or large sums of money, I would have done every thing he would, even to the giving great presents to his ministers and generals. I would, at my own expence, have maintained the auxiliary troops with which he would have supplied me, to put me in the possession of the crown of Russia ; and, in short, I would have stuck at nothing to have carried my point.’

This



This last deposition of the prince, is apparently very forced; it looks as if he strove to make himself thought guilty; and what he says clashes with truth in a capital point. He says, that the emperor had promised him *to procure him the crown by open force*, which was false. Count Schonborn had given him hopes, that after the death of the Czar, his Imperial majesty would help him to assert the claim of his birth; but the emperor himself had not made any promise: in a word, the case was, not to revolt against his father, but to succeed him on his demise.

In this last interrogation, he says what he believes he should have done in case of a contest for his inheritance; an inheritance which he had not judicially renounced, before his journey to Vienna and Naples: now we see him deposing a second time, not what he has done, and what may be made obnoxious to the rigour of the law, but what he fancies he might one day have done, and what, of course, comes not within the cognizance of any

court of justice. Here we see him accusing himself twice of secret thoughts, which he might have had hereafter. The whole world does not afford one single instance of a man tried and condemned for transitory ideas, starting up in his mind, and never communicated to any one living. There is not a court of justice in Europe, where a man accusing himself of a criminal thought, would be minded; and it is said, that God himself does not punish them, unless accompanied with a determination of the will.

To these considerations, however natural, it may be answered, that Alexis, by his concealing several of the accomplices of his elopement, had given his father a right to punish him; his pardon was annexed to a general confession; and this he did not make till it was too late. In fine, after such a procedure, it did not seem possible, according to human nature, that Alexis would ever pardon a brother, for whose sake he had been disinherited; and it was said; *Better a delinquent be punished,*  
*than*

than a whole empire be endangered. The rigour of justice also corresponded with reasons of state.

The manners and laws of one nation are not to be judged of by those of another. The Czar had the fatal right of punishing his son with death, merely for his elopement, and he thus delivers his sentiments in his declaration to the judges and bishops.

‘ Though by all *divine and human laws*,  
‘ and especially by those of Russia, which  
‘ exclude all interposition of the civil power  
‘ between father and son, even among private persons, we have a sufficient and absolute power of sentencing our son according to his crimes and our will, without consulting any one; yet, men not being so clear sighted in their own affairs as in those of others, and the most skilful physician, instead of prescribing for themselves, have recourse to others, when sick; so fearing lest I should bring some sin on my conscience, I state my case to you, and require a remedy. For, if ignorant of



‘ the nature of my distemper, I should  
‘ go about to cure it by my own ability, the consequence may be eternal  
‘ death, seeing that I have sworn on the  
‘ judgments of God, and have in writing  
‘ promised my son his pardon, provided  
‘ he tells me the truth, and afterwards  
‘ confirmed that promise with my mouth.

‘ Though my son has broke his promise, yet that I may not, in any thing,  
‘ depart from my obligations, I desire you  
‘ will think on this affair, and examine it  
‘ with the greatest attention, to see what  
‘ he has deserved. Do not flatter me; be  
‘ neither in the least afraid, that should he  
‘ deserve only a slight punishment, and  
‘ you deliver your opinion accordingly, it  
‘ will offend me; for I swear to you by  
‘ the great God, and by his judgments,  
‘ that absolutely you have nothing at all  
‘ to apprehend.

‘ Let it give you no uneasiness that you  
‘ are to try your sovereign’s son; but,  
‘ without any respect of persons, do justice,  
‘ and destroy not both your souls and  
‘ mine.

‘mine. Lastly, let not our conscience  
‘have any thing to reproach us with on  
‘the terrible day of judgment, and let not  
‘our country be hurt.’

A declaration, nearly similar to this, the Czar made to the clergy; thus every thing passed with the greatest solemnity; and the openness of all Peter’s proceedings, shewed a thorough persuasion of the justice of them.

This arraignment of the heir of such a vast empire, lasted from the end of February to the fifth of July; the prince was several times examined, and made the confessions required; the most essential we have related.

On the first of July, the clergy delivered their opinion in writing; the Czar, indeed, having asked for their opinion only, and not a sentence. The preamble deserved the attention of Europe.

‘This affair, say the bishops and archi-  
‘mandrites, does not in any wise belong to  
‘ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and the abso-  
‘lute prerogative established in the empire

‘ of Russia has no dependance on the judgment of the subjects ; the sovereign, by virtue of his authority, may act according to his good pleasure, and no inferior is to intervene.’

This preamble is succeeded by a quotation from Leviticus, in which it is said, that whoever curseth his father or mother, shall be punished with death ; and another from the Gospel of St. Matthew, which makes mention of this rigorous law in Leviticus : after several other citations, they conclude in these very remarkable words.

‘ If his Majesty is inclined to punish the delinquent, according to his actions and the measure of his guilt, he has before him examples from the Old Testament ; if he be inclined to spare, he has the pattern of Christ himself, kindly receiving the penitent prodigal, dismissing the woman taken in adultery, who, by the law, was to be stoned ; and delighting in mercy more than sacrifice. He has the example of David, who is



‘ solicitous for the safety of Absalom his  
 ‘ son, though an open rebel, recommend-  
 ‘ ing him to the commanders of his army,  
 ‘ who insisted on giving him battle; *spare my*  
 ‘ *son Absalom*: the father was for shewing  
 ‘ him mercy, but divine justice did not  
 ‘ spare him.

‘ The Czar’s heart is in the hands of  
 ‘ God; let him chuse that to which God  
 ‘ shall incline him.’

This memorial was signed by eight  
 bishops, four archimandrites, and two  
 professors; and, as we have already no-  
 ticed, the metropolitan of Resan, who had  
 been one of the prince’s advisers, was  
 the first that signed the memorial.

This opinion of the clergy was imme-  
 diately delivered to the Czar, whom the  
 clergy were manifestly for inclining to  
 clemency; and there is great beauty in  
 this contrast of the mildness of Christ with  
 the rigour of the Jewish law, thus held  
 up to a father who was trying his own son.

On the same day, Alexis was again ex-  
 amined for the last time, when he reduced

his former confession into writing ; in this confession it is, that he accuses himself of having been a bigot in his youth ; of having kept company with the priests and monks ; of having drunk intemperately with them ; of having received from them those impressions which first alienated him from the duties of his condition, and even created in him a hatred of his father's person.

If he made this confession of himself, it shews that he knew nothing of the lenient advice given by that very clergy, whom he accused ; and it likewise proves what a change the Czar had wrought in the priests of his country, who, from the grossest rudeness and ignorance, were in so short a time so improved, as to draw up a writing, in matter and stile not unworthy the most celebrated fathers of the church.

It is in one of these last confessions, that Alexis declares what has already been related, that he would come at the succession by any means whatever.

It appears by this last confession, that he was afraid of not having in the former

charged himself with guilt enough: besides, in his calling himself a person *of a malignant mind, and an ill temper*, and in imagining what he would have done, had the power been in his hands, he laboured to justify the sentence of death which was now to be pronounced on him, as it was on the 5th of July. The whole of it will appear at the end of this history; here we shall only observe, that, like the clergy's memorial, it begins with declaring, that such a trial never belonged to subjects, but to the sovereign alone, as holding his power only from God. Afterwards, having specified the several articles against the prince, the judges expressed themselves in this manner: *What can be thought of his intended rebellion, quite unparalleled in history, with the horror of a double parricide against his sovereign, as father of his country and his natural father.*

These words, perhaps, were wrong translated from the trial printed by the Czar's order; for certainly greater rebellions have been in the world, and it does not appear



any where, that ever the Czarowitz had a thought of killing his father. Perhaps the word parricide means the prince's recent acknowledgment of his having one day confessed, that he had wished his father's death, consequently that of his sovereign; but the private acknowledgment, in confession, of an internal thought, is not a double parricide.

However it be, he was unanimously condemned to die; but without specifying the manner of his execution. Of 144 judges, not so much as one ever thought of a penalty less than death. An English pamphlet, which made a great noise at that time, affirms, that had such a trial been decided by the parliament of England, of 144 judges there would not have been so much as one, who would have voted for the slightest penalty.

Nothing better shews the difference of times and places. Manlius himself might, by the laws of England, have suffered capitally for having put his son to death; yet the severe Romans pardoned him for it.

The

The laws of England do not punish a prince of Wales, who shall withdraw out of the kingdom, being, as a peer of the realm, at liberty to go where he will; the laws of Russia do not permit the sovereign's son to depart the empire against his father's consent. A criminal thought, not carried into execution, is not punishable in England or France; in Russia it is: with us, a long, deliberate, and reiterated disobedience, is only a misconduct, which it is necessary to check; but in the heir of a vast empire, which would have been ruined by such disobedience, it was a capital crime. Lastly, the Czarowitz was guilty against the whole nation, as intending to plunge it again into that ignominy and stupidity, whence his father had raised it.

Thus the Czar was acknowledged, in virtue of his prerogative, to have the power of putting a disobedient son to death, without consulting any other person; yet he referred the case to the judgment of the representatives of the nation, so that it was the nation itself which passed sentence on the

the prince ; and Peter, confident of the equity of his proceedings, caused the trial to be printed, and translated ; thus submitting himself to the judgment of the whole world.

The laws of history do not allow of any palliative or disguise in this transaction. Europe was at a loss whom to pity most, a young prince accused by his father, and condemned to death by those who should one day have been his subjects : or a father, who thought himself obliged to sacrifice his own son to the welfare of the empire.

Several writers affirm, that the Czar had procured from Spain the trial of Don Carlos, condemned to die by Philip the Second ; but Don Carlos was never so much as brought to a trial. Peter the First's behaviour was quite different from that of Philip ; the Spaniard never made known on what account he had caused his son to be put under arrest, nor the manner of the prince's death. The letters which he wrote to the pope and the empress



press on this head are absolutely inconsistent. William prince of Orange publicly taxed Philip with having sacrificed his son and his wife to his jealousy; and of having been a rigid judge, but a jealous and cruel husband, an unnatural father, and a parricide. Philip made no answer to such accusations; whereas Peter did every thing, as it were, in broad day, and openly declared, that he preferred his nation to his own son, referring himself to the opinion of the clergy and the nobility, and making the whole world a judge both of them and of himself.

Another extraordinary circumstance in this melancholy transaction is, that the Czarina Catharine, though hated by the Czarowitz, and loudly threatened with the most afflictive condition, if ever this prince came to sway the sceptre, was not in the least accessory to his catastrophe. No foreign minister, residing at that court, has ever accused, or so much as suspected her of having taken the least step against a son-in-law, from whom she had every thing to fear;

fear ; if it is not said that she interceded for his pardon, all the memoirs of that time, especially those of count Bassewitz, agree, that she pitied his misfortunes.

I have before me the memoirs of a public minister, in which I find these very words : ‘ I was present when the Czar said to the duke of Holstein, that Catharine had intreated him to hinder sentence being pronounced against the Czarowitz ; only, said she to me, compel him to become a monk, as the disgrace of a sentence of death will reflect on your grandson.’

The Czar did not yield to the intreaties of his consort ; he thought it proper that the sentence should be publicly pronounced against the prince ; to the end, that after this solemn act, he might never except against a judgment, in which he had himself acquiesced ; and, being thus civilly dead, it would for ever disable him from pretending to the crown.

Nevertheless, if after Peter’s decease a powerful party had declared for Alexis, would this civil death have incapacitated him from reigning ?

The

The sentence was accordingly pronounced to the prince, and the same memoirs inform me, that he fell into convulsions at these words: *All laws, divine and ecclesiastical, civil and military, condemn to death, without mercy, those who have been manifestly guilty of attempts against the lives of their fathers and their sovereigns.* His convulsions are said to have turned to an apoplexy, and with great difficulty was he brought to himself. In this interval, between life and death, he sent a request to his father to come to him: at this interview, both the father and the unfortunate son melted into tears; the condemned prince asked pardon, and the father publicly forgave him. His disease encreasing to an agony, the extreme unction was solemnly administered to him, and the day after that fatal sentence, he died in the presence of the whole court. His body was immediately carried to the cathedral, where it lay in an open coffin four days, exposed to public view, and was interred by his wife's side, in the church belonging to the citadel,



citadel, the Czar and the Czarina assisting at the ceremony.

We are here indispensably obliged to imitate, if the expression be not too presumptuous, the conduct of the Czar, that is, to submit to the public judgment, the facts which we have now related with the most scrupulous fidelity, and not only the facts, but the reports which were spread, and what authors of the best repute have printed on this extraordinary subject. Lamberti, of all others the most impartial and exact, and who has only inserted original and authentic pieces of the affairs of Europe, seems here to depart from that impartiality and discernment, for which he is so deservedly esteemed; his words are these:

‘ The Czarina, ever fearful of her own issue,  
 ‘ did not allow herself any rest till she had  
 ‘ induced the Czar to bring his eldest son  
 ‘ to a trial, and cause him to be sentenced  
 ‘ to die; and something more strange is,  
 ‘ that the Czar, after having himself inflicted the knout on the young prince,  
 ‘ with his own hands cut off his head.

‘ The

' The body of the Czarowitz was pub-  
 ' licly exposed, and the head so fitted to  
 ' the body, that it did not appear ever  
 ' to have been severed. Some time after  
 ' the Czarina's son dying, the Czar, who  
 ' with his own hand had beheaded his  
 ' eldest son, now seeing himself without  
 ' a successor, contracted a sourness of tem-  
 ' per. And at this very time, he received  
 ' information that the Czarina was carry-  
 ' ing on clandestine intrigues with prince  
 ' Menzikoff; which added to the reflection,  
 ' that it was at the Czarina's instigations  
 ' he had sacrificed his only son, he enter-  
 ' taining a thought of having the Czarina  
 ' shaven and shut up in a convent, as he  
 ' had his first wife, who was still under  
 ' that religious confinement. The Czar  
 ' used every day to minute down his  
 ' thoughts, and he had not omitted his de-  
 ' sign on the Czarina. She had bribed the  
 ' pages of her husband's bedchamber; and  
 ' one of them, who had been used to take  
 ' the pocket-book from under the toilet,  
 ' in order to shew it to the Czarina, car-  
 ' ried

' ried that, wherein the Czar's design was  
 ' minuted, to Catharine. This princess,  
 ' on seeing its contents, communicated it  
 ' to Menzikoff, and within a day or two  
 ' the Czar was seized with an unknown  
 ' and violent distemper, which carried him  
 ' off. Its suddenness and violence mani-  
 ' festly evinced it to be the effect of poi-  
 ' son, a practice said to be too common in  
 ' Muscovy.'

These accusations transmitted in Lam-  
 berti's memoirs, were spread all over Eu-  
 rope; and there being besides a great num-  
 ber of manuscripts and printed copies, by  
 which these dishonourable opinions may be  
 conveyed to posterity as truths, I think it  
 my duty to relate what is come to my  
 knowledge.

I first certify, that he from whom Lam-  
 berti had the above-mentioned strange anec-  
 dote, though born in Russia, was of a  
 foreign family; that so far from living in  
 the empire at the time of the catastrophe of  
 the Czarowitz, he had left it several years  
 before. I knew him formerly; he had

seen



seen Lamberti at Nyon, a small town, whither that writer had retired, and where I have often been : this same person owned to me, that all he had talked about with Lamberti was only *the report of those times*.

This instance may teach us how much more easy it was formerly for one man to brand another in the records of nations, when, before the invention of printing, histories were in few hands, not exposed to public reading, not contradicted by cotemporaries, nor, as at present, within the verge of universal criticism. By a single line of Tacitus or Suetonius, or even the author of a Legend, a prince became odious to the world, and his infamy was transmitted to posterity.

How could the Czar have cut off the head of his son, when extreme unction was administered to him in the presence of all the court? Had he no head when the oil was poured on it? At what time might this head have been stitched on again to his body? The prince, from the reading

of the sentence to his death, was not left alone one moment.

The anecdote of his father's making use of the axe, overthrows the story of his having been dispatched by poison. It is indeed something uncommon, that a young man should die under a sudden disorder, at hearing his sentence, and especially a sentence which he expected; the physicians, however, own that such a thing is possible.

If the Czar had poisoned his son, as so many writers have given out, this would have deprived him of the advantage of all he had been doing during the course of this extraordinary trial, to convince Europe of the right he had to punish; it would have brought a suspicion on the motives of the sentence; and would have been condemning himself. If he had resolved on Alexis's death, he would have caused the sentence to have been executed; was it not intirely in his power? can a prudent person, a monarch, who had attracted the eyes of all the world, bring himself basely to poison one, whom he has a right to cut off with the sword

sword of justice? would he suffer his name to be transmitted to posterity in the heinous colours of a parricide, when he might so easily have brought himself off only as a rigorous judge?

The result of all I have related seems to be, that Peter had more of the king than of the father in him; and that he sacrificed his own son to his views as founder and legislator, and to the interest of his nation, which, without this unhappy rigour, would have relapsed into the condition from which he had raised it. It is plain that he did not sacrifice his son to a mother-in-law, and to the male child which he had by her; for he often threatened to disinherit him before Catharine had brought forth that son, the infirmities of whose infancy bespoke him to be but short-lived, and who accordingly died soon after. Had Peter run such a length, purely to humour his wife, he must have been a very weak, timorous prince, which certainly he was not. He foresaw the fate of his establishments, and consequently of his nation, should his



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views be prosecuted after his decease. All his undertakings are now brought to perfection, and, according to his prediction, the Russian nation is in consequence become famed and respected throughout Europe, from which it was before, in some measure, separated : but had Alexis come to the crown, every thing would have been quashed at once. In fine, on maturely considering this catastrophe, the humane shudder, and the severe approve.

This great and dreadful event is yet so fresh in the public remembrance, and so often talked of with astonishment, that it is absolutely necessary to examine what has been said of it, by the writers of that time. One of those necessitous pamphleteers who have the impudence to assume the title of historian, in his book dedicated to the count de Bruhl, speaks thus: ‘ It is the  
 ‘ persuasion of all Russia, that the Cza-  
 ‘ rowitz died no otherwise than by poison,  
 ‘ which a mother-in-law’s hand had pro-  
 ‘ cured.’ This charge is overthrown by the confession of the Czar to the duke of  
 Holstein,

Holstein, that the Czarina Catharine had advised him, after his son's condemnation, to shut him up in a convent.

As to that empress's having afterwards poisoned even her husband Peter, it is a tale which invalidates itself, only by the bare incident of the page and the pocket-book. Whoever thought of minuting down in his pocket-book, *I must remember to have my wife shut up in a convent?* Is this a particular which may slip the memory, so that a memorandum must be made of it? Had Catharine poisoned her son-in-law and her husband, we should have heard of other crimes of her's; whereas, so far from being reproached with any act of cruelty, she was famed for clemency and lenity.

It is now necessary to shew the first cause of Alexis's behaviour, of his elopement, his death, and that of those conspirators, who died by the hand of the executioner. It was the abuse of religion; and priests and monks were the agents: that these were at the bottom of those deplorable events, is not obscurely intimated

mated in some of Alexis's confessions, but more particularly appears from this expression of the emperor Peter in a letter to his son : *Those bushy beards will turn and wind you as they please.*

Of these words, an ambassador, then at Petersburg, gives the following explanation : ' Many ecclesiastics, says he, tenacious of their former barbarism, and fearing for their authority, which declined with the advancement of knowledge, were impatient to see Alexis on the throne, this prince having promised to restore that barbarism to which they were so wedded.' Among these was Dozitheus, bishop of Rostou, who forged a revelation from St. Demetrius. The saint had appeared to him, and given him notice from God, that Peter had not three months to live ; that Eudoxia, then a recluse in the convent of Sufdale, under the name of Helena, together with princess Mary, the Czar's sister, should re-ascend the throne, and reign jointly with her son, prince Alexis. Eudoxia and Mary were weak enough to

swallow



swallow such an imposture ; and the former was so persuaded of it, that Helena in the convent laid aside her religious habit, re-assumed the name of Eudoxia, caused herself to be stiled majesty, and the name of her rival Catharine to be *expunged* out of the liturgy ; in short, she appeared in the ancient ceremonial dress of the Czarinas. The burfar of the convent expressing her disapprobation of such steps, Eudoxia haughtily answered : ‘ Peter chastised the strelites for affronting his mother, and my son Alexis will not suffer his to be insulted,’ upon which she had the burfar confined in her cell. An officer, by name Stephen Glebo, being introduced into the convent, Eudoxia prevailed on him by presents to administer to her designs. He industriously spread Dozitheus’s prediction all over the town of Susdal, and the neighbourhood. But the three months were now elapsed, and the Czar still living ; this drew on Dozitheus severe expostulations from Eudoxia : ‘ Madam,’ answered he, ‘ this is owing to my father’s sins ; he is

' in purgatory, and has so signified to me.' On this, Eudoxia ordered a thousand *requiems* to be said; Dozitheus assured her that they took effect; and at a month's end he came to acquaint her that his father's head was already out of purgatory; a month after he pretended that the deceased was only up to his waist; then that all was clear but his feet; and if they were once out, but there lay the difficulty, Czar Peter's hour was assuredly come.

Princess Mary, overpersuaded by Dozitheus, offered to give herself up to him, on the prophet's father being instantly discharged from purgatory, and the prophecy fulfilled; and Glebo continued his commerce with the former Czarina.

It was chiefly from a reliance on those predictions, that the Czarowitz withdrew, and went abroad to wait for his father's death. But the whole soon transpired: Dozitheus and Glebo were taken into custody; princess Mary's letters to Dozitheus, and those of Helena to Glebo, were publicly read before the senate. Princess

Mary

Mary was confined in Schlusfelburg castle, and the late Czarina removed to another convent, where she was kept a prisoner: Dozitheus and Glebo, with all the accomplices in this fruitless and superstitious intrigue, together with those who were privy to Alexis's escape, as his confessor, governor, and the marshal of his court, were all put to the torture, and many died under it.

Thus we see at what a dear rate did Peter the Great purchase the happiness which he procured to his people; how many public and private impediments he had to surmount, in the midst of a long and difficult war; with enemies abroad, rebels at home; half his family plotting against him; the majority of the priests obstinately declaring against his schemes; almost the whole nation, for a long time, execrating its own happiness, of which it had not then a proper sense; prejudices to overcome, discontents to allay, till at length a new generation, formed by his care, should close with those ideas of glory and prosperity, which their fathers could not bear.





where he was kept a prisoner:  
with all the accom-

## CHAPTER XI.

*Works and institutions about the year 1718,  
and the following.*

to the nation, and many died under it.

**D**URING this horrible catastro-  
phe, it manifestly appeared that  
Peter was only the father of his  
country, and that he looked upon the whole  
nation as his family. The punishments  
which he had been obliged to inflict on that  
part of his people, which was for hindering  
the happiness of the other, were so many  
sacrifices, which the necessities of the state  
obliged him to offer up to the public.

It was in this very year, 1718, the epo-  
cha of the disinherittance, and of the death  
of his eldest son, that he most promoted  
the welfare and prosperity of his subjects,  
erecting a general police quite unknown  
before, establishing and perfecting manu-  
factures

factures and fabricks of all kinds; striking out new branches of commerce, which was beginning to flourish; and making canals to join rivers, seas, and nations, which nature had separated. These indeed are not such events as charm the bulk of readers; like court-intrigues which gratify malignity, or great revolutions which engage the general curiosity of mankind; but they are the true springs of public happiness, and the survey of them delights a philosophic eye.

He created a lieutenant-general of the police of the whole empire, who resided at Petersburg, as president of a court for maintaining good order throughout all Russia. Luxury in apparel, and games of chance, still worse than luxury itself, were severely prohibited. Schools of arithmetic, for which orders had been issued in 1716, were now set up in all the towns of the empire. The orphan and foundling-houses were finished, endowed, and filled.

We shall here add all the useful regulations which had been projected before,  
and

and were finished some years after. The great streets were cleared of those swarms of beggars, who chuse no other employment than to importune those that have, and to lead a scandalous and wretched life at the expence of others; an evil too much tolerated in many states.

The wealthy were obliged to build houses at Petersburg, of a regular construction, and according to their station; and the causing all the materials to be brought thither free-cost, by vessels and carriages returning empty from the neighbouring provinces, was an excellent ordinance.

Weights and measures were fixed and made uniform, as were also the laws. This uniformity, so much yet in vain wished for in states long since polished, was settled in Russia without any difficulty or murmur; and, though manifestly beneficial, I much question whether it would be practicable amongst us. The price of provisions was stated; lamps were set up at Petersburg, in imitation of those at Paris established by Lewis XIV, but to which Rome itself is yet a stranger: engines



gines were made for the more speedy extinguishing of fires; the streets were paved; in a word, the several regulations for safety, cleanliness, and order; the conveniences for inland trade; the privileges granted to strangers, and methods against any abuse of such privileges, gave a new appearance to Moscow and Petersburg.

The manufacture of arms, especially that erected by the Czar, about ten miles from Petersburg, was improved with particular attention; he himself was the chief surveyor, and very often he had a thousand hands at work under his inspection. He went in person, to give his orders to the undertakers of corn, powder, and saw-mills; also to the directors of the rope-yards, of the sail-cloth and linen manufactures, of the brick-kilns and slate-quarries; a great number of workmen, in all kinds of arts, flocked to him from France. This was one advantage of his journey to that kingdom.

He instituted a commercial court of justice, the members of which were half natives and half foreigners, that all the artists  
and

and workmen might enjoy equal favour. A native of France, countenanced by prince Menzikoff, set up a looking-glass manufacture at Petersburg with great success. Another erected a tapestry manufacture on the plan of the *Gobelins*, and which, to this day, is very much encouraged. A third introduced gold and silver wire-drawing, but by the Czar's orders, to prevent any considerable diminution of bullion, only four thousand marks either of gold or silver were to be employed in this manufacture.

He gave thirty thousand rubles, that is, a hundred and fifty thousand French livres, with every necessary material and instrument, to those who undertook the manufactures of cloths and other woollen stuffs. This judicious liberality enabled him to cloath his army with cloth manufactured in his own country, whereas, before that time, Berlin, and other foreign parts, had that advantage.

Moscow came to make linen equal to that of Holland; and at the time of Peter's decease, Moscow and Jaronslau had

fourteen linen and canvas manufactures.

Who, in the times when silk bore such an exorbitant price in Europe, as to sell for its weight in gold, who, I say, would have conceived, that one day, beyond the Ladoga lake, in a frozen climate, and amidst unknown fens, a splendid and opulent city should arise, manufacturing the silk of Persia, as well as at Ispahan. This Peter undertook and completed. The iron mines were better worked than ever; and some of gold and silver were discovered; on which a board of mines was erected, to ascertain whether the produce would exceed the expence of working them.

To raise so many manufactures, so many different fabricks and trades, to a state of prosperity, it was not enough to sign patents, and appoint inspectors; he was obliged at first to look into every thing himself, and even to work with his own hands, as before he had been seen to build and rig ships, and steer them. When canals were to be dug through sloughs, and miry grounds, almost impracticable, he



he sometimes would put himself at the head of the labourers, shove up the earth, and carry it away himself.

In this same year, 1718, he planned the Ladoga canal and sluices. A communication was to be opened between the Neva and another navigable river, for the greater conveniency of bringing goods to Petersburg, by avoiding a circuit through the Ladoga lake, which besides is so very tempestuous, as often to be quite impracticable to small barks. He himself measured the ground, and the spade and wheelbarrow used by him on this occasion are still preserved: his example being followed by the whole court, a work, accounted impossible, was brought to great forwardness, and since his decease, finished; for not one of his undertakings, manifestly practicable, has been discontinued.

The large canal at Cronstadt, for careening and repairing ships of war, being easily drained, was also begun at the very time of his son's trial.


In the very same year, he built the  
new

new town of Ladoga; and soon after drew that canal which unites the Caspian Sea to the gulph of Finland and the ocean: the waters of two rivers, which he joined, receive the barks going up the Volga; from these rivers, another canal leads into Ilmin lake, and this into the canal of Ladoga; from which goods may be exported, by the main sea, to all parts of the world.

Amidst these works, all carried on under his own eye, his attention extended itself to Camchatka, a country in the most eastern part of Asia, and before unknown to the rest of the world; and here he caused two forts to be erected. In the mean time, engineers from his naval academy, which had been founded in 1715, were employed all over the empire, in drawing correct maps; and thus displaying to the world the vast extent of those countries, which he had polished and enriched.

## CHAPTER XII.

### *Of Trade.*

OREIGN commerce, at his accession to the sovereignty, was greatly decayed; but he revived it. The course of trade is well known to have frequently varied: before Tamerlane's time, South Russia had been the staple of Greece, and even of India; and the chief factors were the Genoese. The Tanais and Boristhenes were laden with the products of Asia. But Tamerlane, towards the period of the fourteenth century, making a conquest of the Chersonesus Taurica, since called Crimea, and Asoph falling into the hands of the Turks, this large branch of commerce of the then known world fell into a total decline. Peter's



ter's principal view in making himself master of Asoph, was to re-establish that trade: but through the unfortunate campaign on the Pruth, he lost that city; and thus all his views of a commerce from the Black Sea were disconcerted. The resource of opening a traffick not less extensive, by the Caspian Sea, still remained; it had been attempted in the sixteenth century, and the beginning of the seventeenth, by the English, who had set on foot the trade to Archangel; but all their endeavours proved abortive.

We have already noticed, that Peter's father had a vessel built by a Dutchman, to trade from Astracan to the coasts of Persia; but after it had been burnt by the rebel Stenkorazin, no hopes remained of carrying on a commerce with the Persians at first hand. The Armenians being the factors of this part of Asia, Peter admitted them into Astracan; for there was a necessity of dealing with them, and leaving them the whole advantage of the traffick. On the like footing are the Banians in India; and to

this day are also the Jews in Turkey, and even in many Christian states ; for they who have but one way of living, seldom fail of making themselves very expert in that business on which depends their subsistence ; whilst other nations suffer themselves to become tributary to talents of which they are not possessed.

But this disadvantage Peter had already remedied, by making a treaty with the emperor of Persia, in virtue of which, all the silk, not intended for the Persian manufactures, was to be vended to the Armenians of Astracan, who were to send it into Russia.

This measure was soon overthrown, by the commotions in Persia. In the sequel we shall see Sha Hussein, emperor of that country, imploring Peter's assistance against his rebellious subjects ; in consequence whereof Peter, after maintaining such difficult wars against the Turks and the Swedes, marched an army into Persia, and subdued three provinces of that empire ; but here, commerce is all we are to discuss.

Of

*Of the trade with China.*

The scheme for trading with China, of all others, apparently offered the greatest advantages. Two immense countries contiguous, and each producing what is wanting in the other, seemed under the happy necessity of contracting an useful intercourse, especially as a peace between Russia and China had been solemnly sworn to in 1689, according to our computation.

The first foundations of this commerce had been laid so long since, as the year 1653. Several inhabitants of Siberia, and families from Boukaria, formed themselves into a trading society at Tobol. These caravans, after passing the plains of the Calmuc Tartars, crossed the deserts, till they reached Chinese Tartary, when their fatigues were compensated by very considerable gains. But these promising enterprizes came to a period, by disturbances among the Calmucks, and quarrels

P 3

between



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between the Russians and Chinese, in regard to limits.

After the peace in 1689, it was natural that the two nations should agree on a neutral place, as a staple, whither the merchandizes were to be brought. The Siberians, like all other nations, standing in greater need of the Chinese, than the Chinese of them, applied to the emperor of China, for licence to send caravans to Peking, which, at the beginning of the present century, was easily obtained.

It is very observable, that there was at this time, by the emperor Camhi's favour, in one of the suburbs of Peking, a Russian church, the duty of which was performed by some Siberian priests, paid out of the imperial finances. Camhi generously caused this church to be built for several families of East Siberia, some taken prisoners before the peace in 1680, and others fugitives: yet after the peace at Nipchou, none were for returning to their country, the climate of Peking, the mildness of the Chinese manners, and the easiness of living

ing comfortably with moderate labour, had endeared China to them. Their little Greek church did not, like the seminaries of the Jesuits, endanger the quiet of the empire. Besides, the emperor Camhi countenanced liberty of conscience; a toleration which, in all times, had subsisted in Asia, as formerly all over the world, till the time of the Roman emperor Theodosius I. These families, by their intermarriages with the Chinese, gradually fell off from Christianity; but their little church still remains.

It was agreed that the Siberian caravans should always have the use of this church, on their coming to Peking, with furs and other merchantable goods. Prince Gagarin, governor of Siberia, was chief director of this traffick, twenty years successively. The caravans were sometimes very numerous; and people of the lower class being the majority, it was not easy to keep them in proper subordination.

Their route lay through the country of a Lama, a kind of ecclesiastical sovereign, residing on the river Orkon, and stiled the

*Koutoukas*. This prelate, who is a vicar of the great Lama, by introducing some alterations into the religion of the country, the principal sect of which is the ancient Indian notion of the Metempsychosis, has made himself independent: he cannot be better compared than to a Lutheran bishop of Lubec and Osnabrug, who have thrown off the Romish yoke. The caravans having committed some insult against this Tartarian prelate, and even against the Chinese, such misbehaviour brought a second interruption on the trade; and the Chinese threatened, that if a stop were not put to such enormities, the caravans should not be allowed to set foot within their empire. The China trade was, at that time, of vast advantage to the Russians, their returns being in gold, silver, and gems. The largest known ruby in the world was brought from China to prince Gagarin; from whence it fell into the hands of Menzi-koff, and it now shines in the imperial crown.

Prince Gagarin's extortions greatly hurt the commerce which had enriched him; but



but at length proved fatal to himself: for, being arraigned before the court of justice, which the Czar had erected, he lost his head, a year after the condemnation of the Czarowitz, and the execution of most of those who had any close connection with that unfortunate prince.

At this very time, the emperor Camhi finding a decline in his health, and knowing from experience, that the European mathematicians were superior to those of China, concluded that the physicians must also be more skilful; accordingly, by the ambassadors who were on their return from Peking to Petersburg, he desired the Czar to send him a physician. An English surgeon, who happened to be at Petersburg, offering to act in that character, was sent with a new ambassador, and Laurence Lange, to whom we are obliged for a description of this journey. The ambassador was received and entertained with great splendor. The English surgeon found the emperor in good health, and was esteemed a very expert

expert physician. The caravan which followed the embassy made great advantages; yet this very caravan, by fresh outrages, gave such offence to the Chinese, that Lange, then resident from the Czar at the court of China, was sent back, and with him all the Russian merchants.

The emperor Camhi died, and was succeeded by his son Yontchin, who, with all his father's wisdom, had more resolution: he expelled the Jesuits out of his dominions, as the Czar had banished them in 1718 out of Russia, and concluded a treaty with Peter, by which the Russian caravans were to traffick only on the frontiers of the two empires. None but the factors, sent in the name of the sovereign of Russia, were to be admitted into Peking, where they had apartments in a vast house which the emperor Camhi had assigned to the envoys of Corea. It is a long time since any factors or caravans have been sent to the city of Peking. This trade, after a considerable decline, appears now on the revival.

Of

*Of the trade of Petersburg and the other Russian ports.*

So early as those times, the number of foreign ships, annually entered at the new imperial city, exceeded two hundred; and its trade has daily increased, so that some years, it has brought in a revenue to the crown of five millions (of French money); this is much more than the interest of those sums, which this plan had cost. Its trade has proved a great detriment to that of Archangel: and this was what its founder intended; Archangel, beside its many difficulties, lying too much out of the way, and trade being never carried on with such advantage as under the eye of an attentive and judicious sovereign. That of Livonia has ever continued on the same footing. With regard to Russia, in general, its trade has turned to good account; a thousand or twelve hundred ships come annually into its ports, and Peter's abilities have blended profit with glory.



## CHAPTER XIII.

### *Of the Laws.*

It is well known, that good laws are very rare, but the due execution of them is still more so. To unite, under one set of laws, a state of vast extent, and composed of different nations, is scarce practicable. Czar Peter's father had caused a code to be formed with the title of *Oulogenia*, and it was printed, but did not at all answer the purpose.

Peter, in his travels, had collected materials for rebuilding this large structure, which was going to ruin; Denmark, Sweden, England, Germany, and France, afforded him instructions, and from these several nations he adopted what he thought would suit Russia.

There

There was a court of boyars, which, in processes, judged definitively: instead of knowledge, rank and birth were the only qualifications for a seat in it: this court was abolished.

He constituted an attorney-general, with four assessors, in every government throughout his empire; their business was to have an eye to the behaviour of the judges, whose sentences were controlable by the senate, which he erected: to each of these judges was given a copy of the *Oulogenia*, with the necessary alterations and additions, till a complete body of laws could be digested.

These judges, under the penalty of death, were not to take any fees; and though with us they are moderate, it were better there was no such custom. The heaviest expences in our courts, are the fees of the subalterns, the multiplicity of writings, and especially that enormous practice of only three words in a line; thus, as it were, crushing the substance of unhappy people under an immense heap of papers.

By

By the Czar's care, the charges were reduced, and the processes brought to a speedy issue : the judges and prothonotaries had salaries payable out of the imperial revenue, and their places were no longer purchased.

It was chiefly in the year 1718, whilst the trial of his son was carrying on with all the formalities before mentioned, that these regulations took place. The greater part of his laws were taken from those of Sweden, and he even promoted to judicial offices, such Swedish prisoners who were versed in the laws of their country, and who, having learned the Russian language, were willing to reside in that empire.

Private suits were cognizable by the governor of the province and his assessors, but with appeal to the senate; and he who, being cast in the senate, appealed to the Czar, was liable to suffer death, if his appeal were ill-grounded : however, as a corrective to this rigorous law, he created a master-general of requests, to examine the petitions of all who, in the senate, or in the inferior



inferior courts, had causes, in which the law as yet was not explicit.

At length, in 1722, his new code was finished, and he forbad the judges, under the penalty of death, to deviate from it, or substitute their own private opinion to the law of the land. This tremendous edict is always posted up in every court of judicature.

He gave a new form to every thing; even the ceremonials of company are his. He settled the ranks of men according to their employments, from the admiral and marshal to the ensign, without any regard to birth.

Having always in his mind, that services are preferable to ancestors, and desirous to impress this truth on his people, he likewise fixed the ranks of women; and she, who in an assembly took a place which did not belong to her, paid a fine.

By a regulation of more solid use, every soldier, on being made an officer, became a gentleman; and every boyard, on being declared infamous in a court of justice, forfeited his nobility.

After

After these laws and ordinances had been digested and taken place, the increase of trade and wealth, the enlargement of the towns, the population of the empire, new undertakings, with the creation of new employments, necessarily brought on a multitude of new affairs and business, and of unforeseen cases, and all consequential to Peter's successes in the general reformation and improvement of his dominions.

The empress Elizabeth completed the body of laws begun by her father ; and these additional laws correspond with the mildness of her government.





## CHAPTER XIV.

### *Of Religion.*

**A**T that very time, Pèter was more busied than ever in bringing about an ecclesiastical reformation. He had suppressed the patriarchate, an act of authority, which had not conciliated the hearts of the clergy. The prerogative was to be absolute, the hierarchy subordinate, yet held in respect : in order to this, he intended to erect a perpetual ecclesiastical commission, dependent on the sovereign ; and which was to impose on the church such institutes only, as should be approved by the master of the whole state, of which the church is a part. In this undertaking, he was assisted by Theophanes Procop, or Procopwitz, *i. e.* the son of Procop, archbishop of Novogord.



This prelate was both learned and wise; he had seen the errors which prevail in Europe, having travelled through great part of it: and the Czar having made the like observations, had, in all his establishments, this great advantage, that he could, without any contradiction, select the useful, and avoid what was dangerous or detrimental. In the years 1718 and 1719, he himself used to discuss these affairs with the sagacious archbishop. A perpetual synod was erected, composed of twelve members, bishops or archimandrites, all nominated by the sovereign. This council has since been augmented to fourteen.

The motives for this institution, the Czar set forth in a preliminary discourse: the principal is, 'That under  
' the administration of a synod of  
' priests, none of those disturbances and  
' indiscretions are to be feared, which  
' might happen under the government  
' of one sole ecclesiastical chief; that  
' the people, seeing on one side a head  
' of the state, and on the other a head of

\* the church, might, from the superstition  
\* natural to them, come to imagine, that  
\* there are in reality two supreme powers.  
On this momentous point, he produces the  
instances of long dissensions between the  
crown and the priesthood, which in so  
many states have caused so much blood to  
be spilt.

He thought, and used publicly to say ;  
*That the notion of two distinct powers, found-  
ed on the allegory of two swords, which the  
apostles happened to have in their possession,  
was absurd and extravagant.*

This tribunal the Czar invested with  
the power of modelling the whole eccle-  
siastical discipline ; of inquiring into the  
abilities and morals of persons nominated  
by the sovereign to episcopal sees ; of pass-  
ing final sentence in religious causes, which  
used to be determined by appeal to the pa-  
triarch ; and of taking cognizance of the  
monastical revenues, and the distributions  
of alms.

This assembly or synod was stiled *most  
sacred*, the title formerly assumed by the  
patriarch.

patriarch. Thus the Czar might be said to restore the patriarchal dignity, though distributed among fourteen colleagues, but all dependent on the sovereign, and sworn to obey him; an oath which the patriarchs did not take. The members of this sacred synod, when assembled, bore an equal rank with senators; but, like the senate, depended on the prince.

It was not till four years after, in 1722, that this new administration, and ecclesiastical code, received a settled form, and became in force. At first, the synod was to present to Peter such whom they judged most deserving of the prelatures, and the emperor having appointed a bishop, the synod consecrated him. Peter was frequently present at the sessions of this assembly; and one day, when a bishop was to be presented to the Czar, the synod intimated to him, that as yet they knew of none but illiterate men: *Well, said Peter, it is only choosing the man of the best life, and he will do full as well as the most learned scholar.*

It is to be noticed, that the Greek church  
has



has no secular abbots, as we term them; the *small band* there is only a mark of ridicule: but as bad an abuse among them, since abuses must be every where, is, that the prelates are chosen from among the monastics. The primitive monks were only seculars, who withdrew to solitudes, some from a motive of devotion, and some through fanaticism; at length St. Basil, gathering them together, prescribed them a discipline, to the punctual observance of which they bound themselves: they were reckoned the last order of the hierarchy, or the first step in the scale of ecclesiastical dignities. Hence Greece and Asia were filled with monks. Russia also swarmed with them; they were wealthy, consequently had great power; and, though grossly ignorant, were, at Peter's accession, almost the only persons in Russia who could write: of this skill they made a very culpable use in the beginning of his reign, disseminating invectives against all his glorious innovations; so that in 1703, he saw himself obliged to restrain them from pen and ink, without

a formal licence from an archimandrite, who became responsible for those to whom he gave such licence.

The following regulations Peter would have to continue in force. At first he was for excluding from the monastic order all persons under fifty years of age ; but considering the shortness of human life, it was too late for forming bishops ; accordingly, on consultation with his synod, the monastic age was reduced to thirty, and no person under that term was to be admitted ; with a prohibition, that no military person, or occupier of land, should at any time turn monk, without an express permission from the emperor, or the synod. No married man, even after divorce, can be admitted into a convent, unless his wife, of her own free will, takes the veil, and they have no children. No person in the service of the state can put on the cowl without a formal licence. Every monk is to work at some trade. Female recluses are never to go out of their convent ; and at the age of fifty, like the deaconesses

conesses of the primitive church, the tonsure is administered to them; but if, previously to this ceremony, they are inclined to marry, it is not only allowable, but they are even exhorted to it; a most commendable regulation in a country where population is much more wanted than monasteries.

It was also a branch of Peter's ecclesiastical scheme, that those unhappy girls, introduced by Providence into the world to people it, yet, from an injudicious devotion, burying in convents that offspring of whom they were to have been the mothers, should however be of some little use to society, thus injured by them; he ordered, that they should all be set to such works as were suitable to their sex. The empress Catharine took on herself to procure workwomen from Brabant and Holland, who being distributed in the convents, their scholars in a short time came to make laces, which were worn by the empress and her ladies.

The wisdom of these institutions, per-



haps, is equal to any thing in the whole world; but what deserves the notice and admiration of all ages, is the regulation drawn up by Peter himself, with the assistance of Theophanes Procopwitz, and which, in 1724, was delivered to the synod. In this instrument, the ancient ecclesiastical institution is very learnedly set forth; and monastical indolence powerfully combated. It not only recommends, but enjoins employment; and the chief occupation, is to be the relief of the poor. It directs, that disabled soldiers be distributed among the convents; that some of the religious be particularly appointed to tend them; that the most robust cultivate the monastic lands. The like are its directions with regard to nunneries: the strongest nuns are to take care of the gardens; others are to be about patients of their sex, which may be brought to the convent. It enters into the most minute particulars relative to these duties. Some monasteries of each sex are assigned for admitting and bringing up orphans.

This ordinance of Peter the Great, dated  
January

January 31, 1724, seems, in its whole tenour, to have been the joint performance of a minister of state and a father of the church.

Most of the usages of the Russian church differ from ours. With us, a man on his becoming a sub-deacon is not to marry; to contribute to the peopling of his native country, in him is sacrilege; whereas, in Russia, a man on his being ordained a sub-deacon, is obliged to take a wife, and thus is capable of being a priest and archpriest; but a bishop must be a widower and a monk.

All priests were prohibited from employing more than one of their children in the service of their church, unless at the desire of the parish itself, lest too numerous a family might tyrannise over the parish. In these ecclesiastical institutes, we see every minute particular calculated for the good of the state, and every measure taken that the priesthood shall be respected, without being dangerous, and kept in a salutary medium between debasement and pre-eminence.

In

In the very curious memoirs of an officer, a great favourite of Peter, I find that one of the *Spectators*, an English periodical paper, the subject of which was a parallel between him and Lewis XIV, being read to him, he said, *I cannot think that I deserve the preference given to me above that monarch ; but it has been my happiness to go beyond him in one point, and that an essential one ; I have brought my clergy to be submissive and quiet, and Lewis XIV. suffered his to get the better of him.*

To a prince, passing the day amidst military labours, and the night in digesting so many laws, in polishing so vast an empire, and in conducting so many immense works in an extent of two thousand leagues, some relaxations were necessary. Entertainments had not then attained their present elegance and grandeur, and we are not to think it any wise strange, that Peter should recreate himself with his farce of *the Cardinals*, already spoken of, and some other diversions in that taste. Sometimes the jest pointed at the church of Rome, to which he had a  
strong




strong aversion; very excusable, however, in a prince of the Greek sect, who will be sole master in his dominions. Sometimes he exhibited the like interludes, the butt of which were his own country monks, but the monks of a long standing, exposing them, whilst he was reforming the novices.

We have already seen how Peter the Great, previously to the promulgation of his ecclesiastical institutes, had created one of his fools pope, and turned the conclave into a farce. This fool, whose name was Sotos, being in his eighty-fifth year, the Czar took a fancy that he should marry a widow of the same age, and the marriage be publicly celebrated. The messengers of the invitations were four stutterers; some decrepit old men attended the bride; the running footmen were four of the most corpulent fellows that could be found; the orchestra was placed on a waggon drawn by bears, who being goaded with iron spikes, their hideous roarings formed a base suitable to the tunes played  
in

in the waggon. The nuptial benediction was given in the cathedral by a blind and deaf priest with spectacles on. The procession, the marriage, the wedding feast, the undressing of the bride and bridegroom, the ceremony of putting them to bed, all was of a piece with the buffoonry of the exhibition.

However grotesque such a spectacle may seem to us, is it more so, than our carnival revels? Is there any thing more elegant in some hundreds of persons, with hideous masks and antic dresses, skipping about all night in a large room, without a single word of discourse?

Our former shows in France of the *fous*, the *ane*, and the *abbé des cornards*, and these represented even in our churches, and by ecclesiastics, had they any thing more solemn? Did a greater genius shine in such plays as *la mere sotte*?



## CHAPTER XV.

*The negotiations in the isle of Aland. Death of Charles XII. Peace of Neuſtat.*

THESE immense works, these regulations of every particular concern of ſo vaſt an empire, and the melancholy trial of prince Alexis, were not the only affairs which employed Peter's comprehensive mind; he was not only eſtabliſhing the internal welfare of his dominions, but ſecuring them from any foreign dangers. The war with Sweden ſtill continued, but the expectation of a ſpeedy peace had abated its violence.

It is certain, that in the year 1717, cardinal Alberoni, chief miniſter to Philip V. king of Spain, and baron Goertz, who had attained an abſolute influence over  
Charles



Charles XII, had concerted to change the face of Europe, by reconciling Peter and Charles, dethroning the king of England, George I, and restoring Stanislaus in Poland, whilst Alberoni was to put Philip, his master, in possession of the regency of France. Alberoni had entered on a negotiation with prince Kourakin, the Czar's ambassador at the Hague, through the channel of the Spanish ambassador Baretti Landi, a Mantuan, whom, like the cardinal, fortune had transported into Spain.

The drift of these foreigners, was to throw every thing into confusion, for the interest of masters, to whom they were not born subjects, or rather for their own. Charles XII. at once closed with these projects, whilst the Czar went no further than to take them into consideration. Since the year 1716, what faint attacks he had made against Sweden, were rather to compel it to purchase peace by the cession of the provinces he had conquered, than totally to crush it.

The active baron Goertz had already prevailed

prevailed with the Czar to send plenipotentiaries into the isle of Aland, where the peace was to be negotiated. Bruce, a Scotchman, master of the ordnance in Russia, and the famous Osterman, who afterwards came to be at the head of affairs, arrived at the place of congress, at the very time when the Czarowitz was put under arrest in Moscow. Goertz and Dillenburg, plenipotentiaries from Charles XII, had been more expeditious, being both impatient to bring about a reconciliation between that prince and Peter, in order to be revenged of the king of England. An odd circumstance was, that there should be a congress without a cessation of arms, for the Czar's fleet was still hovering about on the coast of Sweden, and took several prizes; the end of these hostilities was to forward the conclusion of a peace, so very necessary to Sweden, and consequently glorious to the victor.

Amidst these slight captures which still continued, all the marks of an approaching peace plainly shewed themselves.

The

The preliminaries were acts of generosity, and those have a greater effect than signatures. The Czar, without any ransom, released marshal Erenscheld, whom he himself had taken prisoner; and the king of Sweden, in like manner, restored the generals Trubetskoy and Golowin, who had been prisoners in Sweden ever since the battle of Narva. The negotiations went smoothly on, and an universal change in the North seemed to be at hand. Goertz had laid before the Czar the acquisition of Mecklenburg, of which the sovereign duke Charles had married a daughter of Czar Ivan, Peter's elder brother. The nobility of his country were in arms against him; but Peter had a considerable body of troops in Mecklenburg, and supported the prince, whom he looked on as his son-in-law; whilst the king of England, elector of Hanover, espoused the cause of the nobility. Thus to secure Mecklenburg to Peter, who was already master of Livonia, and growing more powerful in Germany than any elector, was another way  
of



of mortifying the king of England. The duke of Mecklenburg's equivalent was to be the dutchy of Courland, and a part of Prussia dismembered from Poland, where king Stanislaus was to be restored. Bremen and Verden were to return to Sweden. But it was only by force of arms that king George I. could be dispossessed of those territories; therefore the scheme laid down by Goertz was, that Peter and Charles XII. united not only by the peace, but by an offensive alliance, should send an army into Scotland. Charles, after conquering Norway, was, in person, to land in Great Britain, promising himself to set up a new king there, after having done the like in Poland. Peter and Charles had cardinal Alberoni's assurances of large supplies in money. The fall of king George I. would probably have drawn after it that of the regent of France, his firm ally, who, being without any support, would be a victim to Spain flushed with success, and to France highly provoked at his conduct.

## 242 DEATH OF CHARLES XII.

Alberoni and Goertz concluded, they were at the wished for eve of throwing all Europe into universal confusion, when a random shot from the works of Frederickshall quashed all these projects: Charles XII. was killed; the Spanish fleet was beaten by the English; the conspiracy fomented in France was discovered and prevented; Alberoni was driven out of Spain, and Goertz beheaded at Stockholm; and of all this formidable combination, the Czar alone retained his power; having avoided all formal engagements with any one, he gave law to all his neighbours. On the death of Charles XII. there was an universal change in the Swedish measures: he had been despotic, and his sister Ulrica was chosen queen, on condition that she should solemnly renounce despotism. He was on uniting himself with the Czar against England and his allies; and the new Swedish government was glad to unite itself with these allies against the Czar.

Though the congress of Aland was not dissolved, Sweden, now allied with England  
expected

expected that the appearance of an English fleet in the Baltic would procure it a more advantageous peace. Some Hanoverian troops also entered the duke of Mecklenburg's dominions; but the Czar's forces obliged them to retire.

Peter had an army in Poland, which at the same time kept in awe both the partizans of Augustus, and those of Stanislaus; and as to Sweden, he had a fleet ready, either to make a descent on its coasts, or compel the government no longer to protract the congress of Aland. This fleet consisted of twelve large ships of the line, some second rates, besides frigates and galleys. The Czar was still vice-admiral, under admiral Apraxin.

A squadron of this fleet soon signalized itself in an obstinate engagement with a Swedish squadron, taking a ship and two frigates. Peter, who omitted no kind of encouragement to a navy of his own formation, distributed above 60,000 livres of our money among the officers of the squadron, besides gold medals, and even



## 244 CONSEQUENCES OF THE

conferred on them some honorary distinctions.

At this very time, an English fleet under admiral Norris came into the Baltic, for the protection of Sweden. Peter confiding in his new navy, instead of being intimidated, kept the sea; and sent a message to the English admiral, asking peremptorily, whether *he came only as a friend to Sweden, or as an enemy to Russia*. The admiral's answer was, *that as yet he had no positive orders*. This equivocal answer did not hinder Peter from keeping the sea.

The English, indeed, were come only to shew themselves, that by such a mark of their friendship for Sweden, the Czar might be induced to offer the Swedes such terms of peace as should be agreeable. Admiral Norris went to Copenhagen, and the Russians making some descents in Sweden, even in the very neighbourhood of Stockholm, destroyed several copper forges\*, burned near fifteen thousand houses, which

\* July, 1719.

with

DEATH OF CHARLES XII. 245

with other damages, made the Swedes wish for an immediate peace.

The new queen of Sweden hastened the renewal of the negotiations; and Osterman himself was sent to Stockholm; yet affairs continued in this fluctuating state during the whole year 1719.

The year ensuing, the prince of Hesse, the queen of Sweden's husband, now king in his own right, by his consort's cession, began his reign with sending a minister to Petersburg, to forward this so much desired peace; but amidst these negotiations, the war still went on.

The English fleet joined that of Sweden, but without committing any hostilities; there was indeed no open rupture between Russia and England: admiral Norris offered his master's mediation; but his offering it sword in hand retarded the negotiations. Such is the situation of the coasts of Sweden, and those of the new Russian provinces along the Baltic, that the former may be easily insulted, whereas an attack on the latter is scarce practicable. An instance

of this was, when admiral Norris having thrown off the mask, in conjunction with the Swedes, at length landed in a small island of Estonia, called Nargum, belonging to the Czar, and all they burned was a hut; whereas the Russians, at the same time\*, making a descent near Vasa, burnt forty villages, and above a thousand houses, with inexpressible damage to the whole country. Prince Gallitzin boarded four Swedish frigates, and carried them: thus the English admiral seemed to have come only to see with his own eyes, how formidable the Czar had made his navy. Norris did little more than barely shew himself on those seas, where the four Swedish frigates were carried in triumph to Cronlot harbour, facing Petersburg. The English may be said to have done too much, if only mediators; and too little, if enemies.

At length †, the new king of Sweden asked a suspension of arms; and the menaces of England hitherto proving ineffectual, he had recourse to the mediation of the duke

\* June, 1710.

† November, 1720.



of Orleans, regent of France; who being in alliance both with Russia and Sweden, had the honour of bringing about the long negotiated reconciliation \*. He sent Campredon plenipotentiary to Petersburg, and thence to Stockholm.

The congress was held at Neustat, a small town in Finland; but the Czar could not hear of an armistice till all things should be settled for signing. He had an army in Finland, ready to over-run the rest of that province; his squadrons kept the coast in such continual alarms, that there was a necessity of negotiating according to his pleasure. At length, the terms he imposed were subscribed to; all his conquests, from the frontiers of Courland to the extremity of the gulf of Finland, were ceded to him for ever, with a tract of the whole length of the country of Kexholm, and that border of Finland itself, which from the neighbourhood of Kexholm runs northward. Thus by formal acknowledgment, he remained sovereign of

\* February, 1721.

## 248 PEACE OF NEUSTAT.

Livonia, Estonia, Ingria, Carelia, the country of Wiburg, and the neighbouring islands, as Ozel, Dago, and many others, which farther secured to him the dominion of the sea; the whole formed an extent of three hundred common leagues in unequal breadths, and thus made a large kingdom, purchased by the toils and perils of twenty years.

This peace of Neustat was signed by his minister Osterman, and general Bruce, on the 10th of September, 1721.

Peter's satisfaction was the greater, as being now freed from the necessity of keeping on foot large armies on the side of Sweden, and without any thing to apprehend from England and his neighbours, he saw himself in a condition of giving up himself entirely to the reformation of his empire, already so happily begun, and to promote trade and arts, which he had introduced with such unparalleled application and judgment.

In the first transports of his joy, he wrote to his plenipotentiaries: *You have drawn up*

*the*

*the treaty, as if we had done it ourselves, and had sent it you, to cause it to be signed by the Swedes; this glorious event will be ever present to our memory.* The satisfaction of the people declared itself in rejoicings throughout the whole empire, and especially at Peterburg.

The triumphal spectacles which the Czar had exhibited during the war, were not comparable to these peaceable rejoicings, in which all ranks concurred with an emulation. The most glorious of all his triumphs was this peace; and what still pleased much more than those pompous spectacles, was the release of all delinquents in prison, robbery, murder, and high-treason only excepted; likewise the abolition of all arrears of imposts, due to the Czar's treasury, throughout the whole empire, till the day of the proclamation of the peace. It was on this memorable occasion, that the senate conferred on Peter the titles of *Great*, emperor, and father of his country. Chancellor Golofkin made a speech in the name of all the orders of the state in the cathedral,



## 250 REJOICINGS IN RUSSIA.

cathedral, after which, the senators shouted three times, *Long live our emperor and our father*; and these acclamations were answered by the people. On the very same day he was congratulated by the ministers of France, Germany, Poland, Denmark and Holland, who addressed him in his new titles, and thus acknowledged him emperor, after he had been stiled such in Holland in consequence of the battle of Pultowa. The appellations of *Father* and *Great*, were titles of real honour, and to which he had an incontestable right; that of emperor was only an honorary denomination, given by custom to the emperor of Germany, as titular king of the Romans.


These appellations require some time to be brought into formal use, in foreign courts; but this is a mere matter of ceremony. Soon after Peter was acknowledged emperor by all Europe, except Poland, where discord still prevailed; and by the pope, whose suffrage is grown quite insignificant; since, as nations have opened their eyes, the court of Rome has lost all its consideration.

CHAP.



## CHAPTER XVI.

### *Of the conquests in Persia.*

USSIA, by its situation, has necessarily some measures to observe with all the nations dwelling about the fiftieth degree of latitude. Under a weak government, the Tartars, Swedes, and Poles successively, made a prey of it; and under a resolute and steady government, it was formidable to all nations. Peter had begun his reign by making an advantageous treaty with China. He had carried on an offensive war both against the Swedes and Turks at the same time; but the close of his military achievements, was an expedition into Persia.

Persia was then falling into that distressful condition, in which it still continues in our time. He who is acquainted with

with the thirty years war in Germany, the *fronde*, the *St. Barthelemi*, the times of Charles the Sixth, and king John in France, the civil wars in England, the long devastation of all Russia, or the invasion of China, by the Tartars, will have some idea of the calamities under which Persia has so long groaned.

By a weak and indolent prince on one hand, and a powerful and enterprizing subject on the other, a whole kingdom may be plunged into this abyss of desolation. Sha Hussein, sophy of Persia, and a descendant of the great Sha Abbas, was then on the throne; whilst he gave himself up to voluptuousness, his chief minister committed innumerable oppressions under the toleration of this weak sovereign: this was the source of forty years carnage.

Persia, like Turkey, has provinces differently governed; it has subjects, vassals, and tributary princes. There are also tribes to whom the court paid a tribute, under the name of pension or subsidy; such as  
those



those of Daghestan, who dwell among the branches of mount Caucasus, to the west of the Caspian Sea ; and these were once a part of the ancient Albania ; for the names and limits of all these tribes or nations are changed : they are now called the Lefgis, and are a highland nation, rather under the protection than the dominion of Persia, receiving subsidies to defend those frontiers.

At the other extremity of the empire towards India, was the prince of Candahar, who commanded a military body called the Afghans. This prince was a vassal of Persia, on the same footing as the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia are vassals of the Turkish empire. This vassalage, which is not hereditary, has a great affinity with the fiefs erected in Europe, by those kinds of Tartars who overthrew the Roman empire. This militia of Afghans, under the prince of Candahar, was no other than that of those Albanians who lived along the coast of the Caspian Sea, intermixed with Circassians and Georgians, and may be compared to the ancient Mamelucs, who  
made

made a conquest of Egypt. It is by corruption they are called Afghans. This corps of militia had been carried into India by Timur, or Tamerlane, and settled in this province of Candahar, which sometimes belonged to India, and sometimes to Persia. By these Afghans and these Lefgis it was, that this revolution began.

Myr Veitz, or Mirivitz, collector of the tribute in the province, assassinated the prince of Candahar, and gaining over the militia, continued master of that province till his death, in 1717. His brother, by paying a slender tribute to the Persian court, quietly succeeded him; but Myr Veitz's son, who had all the ambition of his father, murdered his uncle, and attempted the conquest of the province. This young man's name was Myr Mahmoud, though in Europe he was known only by that of his father, who had begun the rebellion. Myr Mahmoud, to reinforce his Afghans, formed a body of all the Guebres he could get together; these  
were

were a race of old Persians formerly dispersed by the caliph Omar, and still retaining all their zeal for the religion of the Magi, so celebrated under Cyrus, and of course secret enemies to the modern Persians. Thus strengthened, he marched into the heart of Persia at the head of a hundred thousand fighting men.

At the same time, the Lefgis or Albanians, whose subsidies through the misfortune of the times had not been paid, came down in arms from the mountains: thus the conflagration blazed at both ends of the empire, and reached the capital.

These Lefgis ravaged the whole country along the western coast of the Caspian Sea to Derbent, or the *Iron Gate*. In this tract, thus laid waste, is the city of Schamachia, fifteen leagues from the sea, said to have been the residence of Cyrus, and accordingly by the Greeks called Cyropolis; for it is only through the Greeks, that we know the names and situation of these countries: and as the Persians never had a prince whom they called Cyrus, much



## 256 PETER SETS OUT

less had they a town named Cyropolis. In like manner, the Jews, who when settled in Alexandria set up for authors, invented the city of Scythopolis, saying it was built by the Scythians, and stood near Judea, as if the Scythians and the ancient Jews could give Greek names to towns.

Schamachia was a city of great wealth, the neighbouring Armenians carrying on an immense trade there; and Peter had, at his own expence, very lately settled in it a company of Russian merchants, which also was in a very thriving way. The Lefgis surprizing the city, pillaged it, put to the sword all the Russians, and rifled their warehouses, the loss of which was estimated at near four millions of rubles.

Peter immediately sent to require satisfaction from the emperor Hussein, who was still defending his crown, and to the tyrant Mahmoud, who had usurped it. To do him justice was out of Hussein's power, and Mahmoud would not; therefore

therefore Peter resolved to be his own avenger, and take advantage of the national confusion.

Myr Mahmoud was pushing his conquests in Persia, and the sopher being informed that the emperor of Russia was preparing to enter the Caspian Sea, with a view of revenging the massacre of his subjects at Schamachia, secretly intreated him, by means of an Armenian, at the same time, to come and relieve Persia.

Peter had long since entertained a design of making himself lord of the Caspian Sea, by a powerful navy, and of bringing through his dominions the trade of Persia and part of India. The depths of that sea had been sounded by his order, the coasts surveyed, and exact charts laid down. Accordingly he set out for Persia, on the fifteenth of May, 1722; his consort also accompanying him, even in this remote expedition. He fell down the Volga as far as the city of Astracan, from whence he hastened to superintend the continuation of the canals for joining the

Caspian, Baltic, and White Seas ; a work, which has been partly accomplished in his grandson's reign.

Whilst he was conducting these works, his infantry and ammunition had already reached the Caspian Sea. His army consisted of twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand dragoons, and fifteen thousand Cossacks, besides three thousand sailors on board the several vessels, who, in making a descent, could do the duty of soldiers. The cavalry marched by land through deserts, which are frequently without water ; and beyond those deserts, they were to pass the mountains of Caucasus, where three hundred men might keep a whole army at bay ; but Persia was in such anarchy, that any thing might be attempted.

The Czar sailed above a hundred leagues southward from Astracan, as far as the little town of Andrehoff. To meet with the name of Andrew on the coast of the Hircanian Sea, may be thought strange ; but the founders of it were Georgians, who formerly professed Christianity, and the Persians



had fortified it; however, it was easily taken. From thence the Russian army advanced by land into the province of Daghestan; and manifestoes in the Persian and Russian language were every where dispersed. It was necessary to avoid giving any offence to the Ottoman port, which besides its subjects, the Circassians and Georgians, bordering on this country, had in these parts some considerable vassals, who had lately put themselves under its protection.

Among these vassals, one of the principal was Mahmoud D' Utmich, who stiled himself Sultan, and had the presumption to attack the troops of the emperor of Russia. He was totally defeated, and the public account says, *his country was made a bonfire.*

Peter soon reached Derbent\*, by the Persians and Turks called Demir Capi, i.e. *Iron Gate*, because it had formerly such a gate towards the south: it is a long narrow town, joining at the upper part of it to

\* September 14, 1722.

a steep branch of the Caucasus; and its walls, at the other end, are washed by the sea, which, in stormy weather, is often known to break over them. These walls may be justly accounted one of the wonders of antiquity; they are forty feet high and six broad; flanked with square towers at fifty feet distance. The whole work seems one single piece. It is built of a kind of brown free-stone, and a mortar of pounded shells, and the whole forms a mass harder than marble itself; it is accessible by sea, but, on the land side, seems impregnable. Here are still the ruins of an old wall, like that of China, unquestionably built in the times of the earliest antiquity; it was carried from the Caspian to the Black Sea, and probably was a rampart thrown up by the ancient kings of Persia against those numerous barbarian hordes or tribes, dwelling between those two seas.

According to a Persian tradition, the town of Derbent was partly repaired and fortified by Alexander. Arian and Quintus Curtius say, that Alexander did actually

actually rebuild this city: they add, indeed, that it was on the banks of the Tanais; but that is, because in their time the Greeks gave the name of Tanais to the river Cyrus, which runs near the town of Derbent. For Alexander to have built the gate of the Caspian Sea on a river which discharges itself into the Pontus Euxinus, implies a contradiction.

There were formerly three or four other Caspian gates at different passages, and all apparently built for the same end; the nations, west, east, and north of this sea, having ever been formidable Barbarians; and from these parts principally issued those swarms of conquerors, which subdued Asia and Europe.

I beg leave to observe here, how much authors have in all ages taken a delight in deceiving mankind, and ostentatiously preferred eloquence to truth. Quintus Curtius puts into the mouth of some Scythians, whom he is pleased to introduce in his history, an admirable speech, full of philosophy, moderation, and magnanimity;



nanimity ; as if the Tartars of those climates had been so many sages, and Alexander had not been appointed general by the Greeks against the king of Persia, then lord of a considerable part of South Scythia and India. Rhetoricians aping Quintus Curtius, have laboured to persuade us, that these rapacious and sanguinary savages of mount Caucasus and the deserts, are the most just and hospitable of men ; and Alexander the avenger of Greece, and the conqueror of him who was for enslaving it, they represent as a robber, roving about the world in defiance of all reason and justice.

They do not recollect that those Tartars were never known but by rapine and destruction, and that Alexander built towns in their own country ; it is in this that I could take on me to compare Peter the Great with Alexander ; not less active, not less a patron of useful arts, and to legislation much more attentive ; like him, he was for giving a turn to the commerce of the world, and built or repaired as many towns as Alexander.

On

On the approach of the Russian army, the governor of Derbent, instead of standing a siege, whether he thought the place not tenable against such a force, or preferring the protection of the emperor Peter to that of the tyrant Mahmoud, brought the silver keys of the city and castle; thus the army quietly took possession of Derbent, and incamped along the sea-shore.

The usurper Mahmoud, who had already made himself master of a great part of Persia, had neglected nothing to be beforehand with the Czar, and hindering him from getting into Derbent; he raised the neighbouring Tartars, and hastened thither himself; but Derbent was already in the Czar's hands.

Peter was at this time hindered from extending his conquests, the vessels with provisions, stores, horses, and recruits, having been wrecked near Astracan; and the unfavourable season was come on, so that he returned to Moscow, and entered it in triumph\*. According to custom,

\* January 5.

he gave a formal account of his expedition to the vice-Czar Romadonofki, continuing to the last this singular comedy, which his elogium, pronounced in the academy of sciences at Paris, says, *should have been acted before all the monarchs of the earth.*

Persia was still divided between Hussein and the usurper Mahmoud; the former sought the support of the emperor of Russia, the latter feared him as an avenger, who would wrest from him all the fruits of his rebellion. Mahmoud used every endeavour to stir up the Ottoman port against Peter: with this view he sent an embassy to Constantinople; and the Daghestan princes, under the grand seignor's protection, having been dispossessed of their dominions by the arms of Russia, solicited revenge. The divan were under apprehensions for Georgia, which the Turks considered as part of their dominions.

The grand seignor was on the point of declaring war, when the courts of Vienna and Paris diverted him from that measure.

The



The emperor of Germany made a declaration, that if the Turks attacked Russia, he should be obliged to join in its defence; and the marquis de Bonac, ambassador from France at Constantinople, seconded the German menaces; he convinced the Porte, that their very interest required them not to suffer, that the rebellious usurper of Persia should set an example of dethroning sovereigns, and that the Russian empire had done no more than what the grand seignor should have done.

During these critical negotiations, the rebel Myr Mahmoud had advanced to the gates of Derbent, and laid waste all the neighbouring countries, in order to distress the Russians. That part of ancient Hircania, now known by the name of Ghilan, was not spared, which so irritated the people, that they voluntarily put themselves under the protection of the Russians, esteeming them as their deliverers.

Herein they followed the example of the sophy himself: this unfortunate monarch had sent an ambassador to implore

plore the assistance of Peter the Great ; but this ambassador was scarce on the road, when the rebel Myr Mahmoud seized on Isfahan, and the person of his sovereign.

Thamaseb, son to the captive sophy, escaped the tyrant's violence, and getting together some troops, he fought a battle with the usurper. He was not less intent than his father in urging Peter the Great to protect him, and sent to the ambassador the like instructions, which Sha Hussein had given.

Though this Persian ambassador, named Ishmael-beg, was not yet arrived, his negotiation had succeeded. On his landing at Astracan, he heard that general Matufkin was on his march with fresh troops to reinforce the Daghestan army. The town of Baku or Bachu, from which the Persians called the Caspian Sea, the sea of Bachu, was not yet taken. He gave the Russian general a letter to the inhabitants, exhorting them, in his master's name, to submit to the emperor of Russia: the ambassador continued his journey to Petersburg.

burg, and general Matufkin went and sat down before the city of Bachu. The Persian ambassador reached the Czar's court, at the same time as the news of the surrender of that city \*.

Baku is situated near Schamachia, where the Russian factors had been massacred; and though in wealth and number of people inferior to it, is very famous for its naphtha, with which it supplies all Persia. Never was treaty sooner concluded, than that of Ishmael-beg. The emperor Peter, desirous of revenging the death of his subjects †, engaged to march an army into Persia, in order to assist the sophi Thamaseb against the usurper; and the new sophi ceded to him, besides the cities of Bachu and Derbent, the provinces of Ghilan, Mazandaran, and Astarabath.

Ghilan, as we have already noticed, is the southern Hircania; Mazandaran, which is contiguous to it, is the country of the Mardi; Astarabath confines on Mazandaran; and these were the three principal pro-

\* August, 1723.

† September, 1723.



## 268 PARTITION OF PERSIA.

vinces of the ancient kings of the Medes. Thus Peter by his arms and treaties came to be master of Cyrus's first monarchy.

It is not an useless particular, that in the articles of this convention the price of necessaries to be furnished to the army was settled: for a camel no more than 12 rubles was to be asked; a pound of bread did not come to five liards, and a pound of beef was something under six. This rate was an evident proof of the affluence of real goods, which are those of the earth, and the scarcity of money, which is only a good by compact.

So calamitous was the state of Persia, that the unhappy sophi Thamaseb wandering about his kingdom, pursued by the rebel Mahmoud, the murderer of his father and brothers, was reduced to supplicate both Russia and Turkey at the same time, that they would take one part of his dominions to preserve the other for him. It was agreed between the emperor Peter, the sultan Achmet III, and the sophi Thamaseb, that Russia should hold the three provinces

provinces above-mentioned, and that the Ottoman port should have Casbin, Tauris, and Erivan, besides what it should take from the usurper: thus was this fine kingdom dismembered by the Turks, Russians, and the Persians themselves.

The emperor Peter's dominions now extended from the Baltic beyond the southern bounds of the Caspian Sea; and Persia continued to be the prey of revolutions and ravages: from wealth and politeness it was plunged into wretchedness and barbarism, whilst Russia, from indigence and rudeness, rose to opulence and politeness. One single man, by his active and resolute genius, raised his country: and one single man, being weak and indolent, occasioned the fall of his.

We are as yet but very ill informed of the particulars of the several calamities which have so long desolated the kingdom of Persia. We have been told, that Sha Hussein, depressed by his misfortunes, stooped so low as, with his own hand, to put his mitre or crown on the head of the usurper

Mahmoud.

Mahmoud. It has been said, that Mahmoud afterwards fell into an alienation of mind; thus a lunatic and an idiot decided the fate of so many thousands of men. It is added, that Mahmoud, in a fit, killed with his own hands all Sha Houssein's sons and nephews, to the number of a hundred, and that by way of purification and charm to be relieved from his disorder, the gospel of St. John being laid on his head, was read over to him. These Persian tales, spread abroad by our monks, have been printed at Paris.

This tyrant, who had assassinated his own uncle, fell by the hands of his own nephew, Eshreff, who ruled with all the cruelty and tyranny of Mahmoud.

Sha Thamaseb was still imploring the assistance of Russia. This is the same Thamaseb, or Thamas, who was afterwards restored by the famous Kouli Khan, and since dethroned by his restorer.

These revolutions, together with the subsequent wars between Russia and the Turks, in which the former had the advantage, and  
the



the evacuation of the three Persian provinces, as a dead weight on Russia, do not appertain to the History of Peter the Great, not having taken place till several years after his death. It is sufficient to say, that he terminated his military course with adding to his empire three provinces on the side of Persia, after he had added three others towards the frontiers of Sweden.



## CHAPTER XVII.

*The Empress Catharine I. crowned. Death  
of Peter the Great.*

PETER, at his return from his Persian expedition, was more than ever the arbiter of the North. He openly took into his protection the family of Charles XII, after having been eighteen years his declared enemy. He invited to his court the duke of Holstein, that monarch's nephew, on whom he bestowed his eldest daughter, and from that very time prepared to assert his rights on the dutchy of Holstein Sleswick, and even bound himself to it in a treaty, which he concluded with Sweden\*.

\* February, 1724.

The works which he had begun throughout his dominions, to the extremity of Kamschatka, he now hastened to complete; and for the better conduct of these establishments, he erected at Petersburg an academy of sciences. Arts and trades flourished every where, manufactures were encouraged, the navy augmented, the army well clothed and paid, and the laws well observed and executed. As this uncommon state of glory was attended with a profound peace, he was pleased in an extraordinary manner to share it with that person, who by retrieving the disaster of the campaign on the Pruth, had, he said, contributed to that very glory.

The ceremony of crowning his consort Catharine \*, was performed at Moscow, in presence of the dutchess of Courland, daughter to his elder brother, and of the duke of Holstein, his intended son-in-law. The manifesto published by him on this occasion, deserves notice; it mentions the custom of several Christian monarchs, to

\* May 18, 1724.



## 274 CORONATION OF CATHARINE.

have their spouses crowned, producing instances of the emperors Basilides, Justinus, and Heraclius, and Leo the philosopher. The emperor enlarges on Catharine's important services, and especially in the Turkish war, when his army, says he, was reduced to 22000 men, and had above 200,000 to fight against. In this instrument there was not a word of the empress's succeeding him in the throne; but the people however were prepared for it by this ceremony, as not customary in his dominions. A circumstance which might farther cause Catharine to be looked on as the presumptive successor is, that the Czar himself, on the coronation-day, walked before her on foot, as captain of a new company, which he created on that occasion, with the title of the *Empress's Knights*.

At the ceremony, which was performed in the church, Peter placed the crown on her head, when she was for falling down on her knees, but he raised her; and at coming out of the cathedral, the scepter and globe were carried before her. The  
festival

CORONATION OF CATHARINE. 275

festival was in every respect becoming an emperor. If Peter loved simplicity in his private life, on solemn occasions he was no less magnificent and splendid.

After the coronation of his consort, he determined on concluding the marriage of his eldest daughter, Anne Petrona, with the duke of Holstein. This princess had many of her father's features; she was of a majestic stature, with great beauty. The marriage was celebrated \*, but without much show, for Peter now found his health very much impaired; and domestic vexation, which perhaps heightened the distemper of which he died, rendered the pomp and tumult of entertainments little suitable to his latter days.

Among Catharine's chamberlains was a very handsome young gentleman, Moens de la Croix †, of a Flemish family, but born in Russia; and his sister, madame de Bale, was first dresser to the empress; these two might be said to govern her household; an accusation was brought against them

\* November 24, 1724.

† Bassewitz's Memoirs.

for receiving presents, and they were imprisoned, and brought to a trial. So long ago as the year 1714, a prohibition had been issued, forbidding all persons in employments to take presents, under penalty of infamy and death; and this prohibition had been several times renewed.

The brother and sister were convicted, and all who had either purchased or rewarded their services were named in the sentence, except the duke of Holstein and his minister, count Bassewitz; perhaps what presents this prince made to those who had contributed to bring about his marriage, were not looked on as criminal. Moens was sentenced to be beheaded, and his sister to receive eleven strokes with the knout. This lady's two sons, one a chamberlain, the other a page, were degraded and sent away to the army in Persia, as common soldiers.

However shocking these severities appear to us, they were perhaps necessary in a country, where the support of the laws seems to require a tremendous rigour.

The



The empress interceded for the lady's pardon, which the Czar refused, and was so offended at the request, that, striking a Venetian pier glass, he said to his consort, 'Thou seest that one blow of my hand can reduce that glass to the dust, whence it came.' Catharine, with a look of submissive grief, said, 'Well, you have broke one of the most valuable ornaments of your palace, and do you think it will make it the finer?' These words, with the air which accompanied them, appeased the emperor; yet all the favour which his consort could obtain was, that her dresser should receive only five strokes instead of eleven.

This is a fact which I should not relate, were it not attested by a minister, who was an eye-witness, and by his presents to the brother and sister perhaps contributed chiefly to their misfortune. It was from this, that some who put the worse construction on every thing, had the confidence to give out, that Catharine shortened the days of a husband, whose

fits of passion filled her with such terrors, as overcame her gratitude for his favours.

These malignant suspicions struck deeper root by Catharine's sending for her dresser, immediately after her husband's decease, and restoring her to her former favour. The duty of an historian is to relate those public reports, which, in all ages and all states, have broke out on the death of princes carried off by a premature death, as if nature of itself could not destroy us; but the same duty requires, that he should shew the presumption and injustice of such reports.

There is an immense difference between the transitory vexation arising from a husband's passion or severity, and the desperate resolution of poisoning a husband and a master, to whom we owe every thing; and the danger of such an attempt would not have been less than the guilt. There was at that time a numerous party which favoured the son of the unfortunate Czarrowitz, in opposition to Catharine; yet neither this party, nor any person belonging to

the court, ever suspected Catharine; and the reports which went about, were only the opinion of some superficial foreigners; who without any reason wantonly indulged that wretched pleasure of imputing the worst of crimes to those, whose interest it is thought to commit them. It is a great question, how far this was Catharine's interest; it was not a fixed point, that she was to succeed Peter; she had been crowned only as consort to the sovereign, and not as future sovereign on his decease.

Peter's declaration had appointed the festival only as a ceremony, and not as conveying a right to the throne. He quoted the examples of the Roman emperors, who had caused their consorts to be crowned, yet none of them were ever invested with the sovereignty. Even at the very time of Peter's illness, it was the opinion of many, that the princess Anne Petrona was to succeed him jointly with the duke of Holstein, her spouse; others surmised, that the emperor would nominate his grandson as successor: thus, so far was it from being



## 280 PETER'S DISTEMPER.

Catharine's interest that the emperor should be sent out of the world, that his preservation was, of all things, most necessary to her.

It is certain, that Peter had for a long time been troubled with an abscess and a retention of urine, which brought on him very sharp pains. The mineral waters of Olonitz, and others recommended to him, had little or no effect; so that he was observed to decline sensibly since the beginning of the year 1724. His application, which he could not be persuaded to abate, so increased his distemper, that his condition appeared irretrievable.

The burning heats within him kept him almost in a continual delirium\*. He was once for availing himself of a short interval of ease, by writing; but the letters were so confused and out of shape, that after much difficulty, only these words, in the Russian language could be decyphered, *Restore all to †*. He called for the princess Anne Petrona, to dictate to her; but when she presented herself before his bed, he had

\* January, 1725.

† Memoirs of count Bassewitz.

## DEATH OF PETER THE GREAT. 281

lost the use of his speech, and soon after fell into an agony, which lasted sixteen hours. The empress Catharine had not left his bolster for three nights, and in her arms he expired on the 28th of January, about four o'clock in the morning.

His corpse was removed into the great hall of the palace, followed by the imperial family, the senate, all persons of distinction, and an innumerable train of commonalty; he was there laid on a bed of state, and every body admitted to kiss his hand, till the day of his interment, which was the 21st of March, 1725, N. S. It has been believed, and even published in print, that he had by will appointed Catharine his successor in the empire; but the truth is, that he never made a will, or, at least, no will ever appeared. A very strange omission in a legislator, and which indicates, that he did not think his distemper mortal.

It was still an uncertainty, at the time of his death, who should fill the throne. He had a grandson, the issue of the unfortunate

## 282 DEATH OF PETER THE GREAT.

fortunate Alexis; and his eldest daughter, the dutchess of Holstein, was also living. The faction which favoured young Peter was very considerable for numbers and power; but prince Menzikoff, who had ever been connected with the empress Catharine, took care to prevent any dangers from either of the parties. Peter was near expiring, when Menzikoff urged the empress to step into a room, where her friends were already met; the treasure was removed to the citadel, the guards secured, and prince Menzikoff had gained over the archbishop of Novogorod. With these, and Macaroff, a privy secretary, Catharine held a council, at which assisted the Holstein minister.

The empress left this council to return to her dying consort, whose last sighs were breathed in her arms. Immediately the senators and the officers of state hastened to the palace, where the empress made a speech to them. Menzikoff answered it in the name of the whole assembly: for form's sake they withdrew, to deliberate farther



## DEATH OF PETER THE GREAT. 283

farther out of the empress's presence. Theophanes, archbishop of Pleſco, declared that, the evening before the coronation; the emperor publicly ſaid, he crowned her purely that ſhe might reign after him; a proclamation was ſigned, and Catharine ſucceeded the very day of his demife.

Peter the Great was lamented in Ruſſia by all thoſe whom he had formed; and the generation which followed that of the ſticklers for ancient cuſtoms, ſoon came to look on him as their father. Foreigners, on ſeeing that all his eſtabliſhments have been continued as highly uſeful, are filled with admiration of him, and have acknowledged, that he was rather inſpired by an extraordinary wiſdom, than actuated by a fondneſs of doing wonderful things. All Europe allows that he loved glory, but that he placed it in doing good; that his faults never diminished his great qualities; that if in him the man had his blemiſhes, the monarch was ever great. *He forced* nature in every thing, in his ſubjects, in himſelf, by land and by water; but the violence

violence he put on it, was for its embellishment; the arts which, with his own hand, he transplanted into countries, then savage, bear testimony, in their productions, to his genius, and immortalise his memory; at present, they seem as original natives of those countries whither he carried them. The laws, the police, politics, military discipline, and navigation, commerce, manufactures, sciences, arts, all have been brought to perfection answerable to his views; and by a singularity, of which the whole world does not afford an instance: what he completed, has been kept up; what he began, has been completed, by four women, who successively ascended the throne: after him.

If the palace has had some revolutions since his death, the state has continued on the same footing; the splendor of this empire has received increase under Catharine I; under Anne Petrona, the superiority of its arms were felt by the Turks and Swedes; it has over-run Prussia and part of Pomerania under Elizabeth; and hitherto

therto it has enjoyed peace, with the prosperity of arts and sciences, under Catharine II.

It is the part of the national historians, to enter into the details of all the foundations, establishments, laws, wars, and enterprizes of Peter the Great; in celebrating those who were assisting to this monarch in his military and political labours, they will encourage their countrymen: for a foreigner, a disinterested admirer of merit, it is enough to have attempted to shew what that great man was, who learned from Charles XII. to overcome him; who twice left his country, to govern it the better; who, to set an example to his people, worked with his own hands at almost every necessary trade; and who was the founder and father of his empire.

The sovereigns of states, long since civilized, will say to themselves: ‘ If in the  
‘ frozen climates of ancient Scythia a  
‘ man, without any other assistance but  
‘ his own genius, has performed such  
‘ great



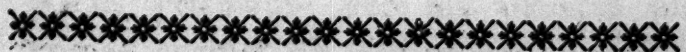
‘ great things, what should we not do  
 ‘ in kingdoms, where the accumulated  
 ‘ labours of many ages have made every  
 ‘ thing easy to us?’

E N D.





# APPENDIX.



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ALFRED X

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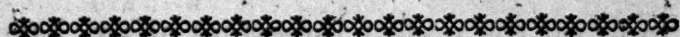




## ORIGINAL PIECES,

According to

The Translations made at several times  
by order of PETER I.



*Condemnation of prince Alexis, June 24, 1718.*

IN PURSUANT to the express order  
of his Czarish majesty, and signed with his own hand the 13th of June last, for the trial of the Czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz, for his offences and crimes against his father and sovereign, the ministers, senators, military and civil officers, whose names are hereunto subscribed, after several meetings held in the chamber of the senatorial regency at Petersburg, having more than once heard the originals and extracts of the depositions against him formally read, as likewise the

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admonitory letters from his Czarish majesty to the Czarowitz, and his answers to them, written with his own hand; likewise the informations, confessions, and declarations of the Czarowitz, both those written with his own hand, and those verbally made by him to his lord and father, and before the underwritten, appointed by his Czarish majesty's authority to sit on the present important affair, have declared, That though according to the laws of the Russian empire, it never has appertained to them, being natural subjects of the sovereign dominion of his Czarish majesty, to take cognizance of an affair of this nature, which, from its importance, solely depends on the absolute will of the sovereign, whose power is derived from God, and not limited by any law; however, in obedience to the said order of his Czarish majesty, their sovereign, which invests them with this liberty, and after mature reflections, conscientiously, without fear or flattery, or respect of persons, having before their eyes the divine laws,

both

both of the Old and New Testament, applicable to the present case, the sacred writings of the gospel and of the apostles, likewise the canons and decrees of councils, the authority of the venerable fathers and doctors of the church; besides the additional light received from the sentiments of the archbishops and clergy assembled at Petersburg by his Czarish majesty's order, a duplicate of which is hereto annexed, and conforming themselves to the general law of all Russia, and particularly to the constitutions of this empire, to the military laws and the statutes which correspond with the laws of many other states, especially those of the ancient emperors, Roman and Greek, and other Christian princes; we the underwritten, having put the case to the vote, unanimously, and without any contradiction, agree and resolve, That the Czarowitz, Alexis Petrowitz, *deserves death*, for his many capital crimes and offences against his sovereign and his father; so that though his Czarish majesty, in a letter sent to the Czarowitz by M. Tolstoi of



the privy-council, and captain Romanzoff, dated from Spa, the 10th of July, 1717, promised that he would forgive his elopement on his returning of his own accord and willingly, as the Czarowitz himself, with thanks, acknowledged in his answer to that letter, written at Naples the 4th of October, 1717; wherein he says, that he thanked his Czarish majesty for the pardon, which related only to his elopement: he is since become unworthy of it by his continual opposition to his father's pleasure, and other offences repeatedly continued, as is set forth at large in the manifesto published by his Czarish majesty the 3d of February of the present year; and because, among other things, he did not return of his own accord.

And though his Czarish majesty, on the Czarowitz's coming to Moscow, with a written confession of his crimes, and in which he intreated forgiveness, had pity on him, as is natural for a father towards his son; and though at the audience, to which the Czar admitted him in the hall of the citadel,

citadel, on the same day, the 3d of February, his Czarish majesty promised that all his offences should be forgiven; yet this promise was made in the presence of all the numerous assembly then present, with this express proviso, that the Czarowitz should, without any exception or reservation, declare and make known all that he had committed or devised against his Czarish majesty till that day; and that he should discover all those who had been his advisers and accomplices; and in general, all who knew any thing of his designs and practice; but that on any concealment of persons or things, the pardon should be void, as if it never had been granted: which the Czarowitz consented to, and received, at least in appearance, with tears of gratitude; and he promised, on oath, to declare every thing, without any reserve; in confirmation of which he, in the cathedral church, kissed the cross and scripture.

The next day his Czarish majesty, with his own hands, again signified to him the same thing, in the interrogatory articles

inserted above, which he ordered to be delivered to him, having written at the head of them the following words.

*Having yesterday received your pardon on condition that you should declare all the circumstances of your elopement, and whatever relates thereto; withal, that if you concealed any thing, you should be deprived of life; and as you have already made some verbal declarations, you are ordered, as a fuller satisfaction, and that you may be acquitted, to set them down in writing, according to the articles specified underneath.*

And at the conclusion, in the 7th article, the Czar had again written with his own hand.

*Make known whatever relates to this affair, though not mentioned here, and clear yourself as you would at confession: but should you bide or conceal any thing, which may hereafter come to light, do not blame me for the consequence; for it was yesterday declared to you, before all the world, that in such case, the pardon you have received would be void, and revoked. Nevertheless, the Czarowitz,*  
in



in his answers and confessions, has observed no manner of sincerity; he has not only concealed many persons, but capital transactions, concerns, and offences; and particularly his rebellious designs against his father and his lord, and the unnatural contrivances he has long been carrying on, for usurping his father's throne during his life, by many evil ways, and under evil pretences; grounding his hope and his wishes for the death of his father and lord, on the commonalty's declaring in his favour.

All this has been since discovered by legal informations, after he himself had refused to make any such declarations, as appeared above.

Thus, by the whole behaviour of the Czarowitz, and by his declarations, both verbal and written, and lastly, by that of the 22d of last June, it is evident that he would not stay till the succession to the crown should come to him after his father's demise, in the manner that his father would have left it to him, agreeable to equity,

and by those ways and means which God has prescribed ; but that he has wished for it, and had a premeditated design of seizing on it, even during the life of his father and lord, by opposing in every thing his father's will ; and not only by a domestic rebellion, which he relied on, but by the assistance of a foreign army, which he flattered himself to have at his disposal, and to be purchased even at the ruin of the state, and the alienation of every thing which might have been required of the state for such assistance.

The above detail shews, that the Czaro-witz, in concealing all his pernicious designs, and secreting many persons who acted in concert with him, as he continued to do till the last examination, and till he was fully convicted of all his machinations, intended to reserve to himself, on any opportunity, means of resuming his designs, and thoroughly to put in execution this horrible attempt against his father and his lord, and against all this empire.

He has thereby rendered himself unworthy of pardon, which his worthy lord  
and

and father had, in his great clemency, promised him. He has also himself acknowledged, both before his Czarish majesty and all the states, ecclesiastical and civil, and publicly before the whole assembly; and he has also, both verbally and in writing, declared before the underwritten judges, appointed by his Czarish majesty, that all the premises were true and manifest, by such effects as had appeared.

Therefore, as the before-mentioned laws, divine and ecclesiastical, civil and military, and particularly the two latter, condemned to death, without mercy, not only those, whose attempts against their father and lord have been manifested by evidences, or proved by writings, but even those, whose attempts reached no farther than a rebellious intention, or the formation of a design to kill their sovereign, or seize on the empire; what can be thought of a rebellious design, such as scarce has ever been heard of in the world, added to the horror of a twofold parricide against his sovereign,

first



first as his political father, and then as his natural father (a most kind father, by whom the Czarowitz has from his cradle been brought up, with every paternal care, with a tenderness and indulgence, which have appeared on all occasions; who, with incredible pains, and unwearied application, has endeavoured to form him for government, and instruct him in the art of war, that he might be worthy of the succession, and capable of ruling over such a large empire?) how much more then does such a design merit a capital punishment?

It is with grieved hearts, and eyes full of tears, that we, being servants and subjects, pronounce this sentence; seeing that as such, it does not belong to us to take cognizance of so momentous a concern, and especially to pronounce a sentence against the son of our sovereign, and most bountiful lord, the Czar. However, it being his will that we should pass our judgment, we by these presents declare our real opinion, and we pronounce this condemnation with a clear and Christian conscience,

as

as we shall answer for it before the just and impartial tribunal of God. Submitting withal this sentence and condemnation to the supreme power, will, and merciful revision, of his Czarish majesty, our most gracious monarch.



PEACE

PEACE OF NEUSTAT.

*In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity.*

**E** it known by these presents, that  
**B** a long, bloody, and burdensome  
war having several years since  
arisen between the late king Charles XII.  
of glorious memory, king of Sweden, of  
the Goths and Vandals, &c. his successor  
to the throne of Sweden, lady Ulrica,  
queen of Sweden, of the Goths and Van-  
dals, &c. and of the kingdom of Sweden on  
the one part; and between his Czarish ma-  
jesty Peter I, emperor of all Russia, &c.  
and the empire of Russia, on the other  
part; both parties have thought fit to con-  
sult on means for putting an end to these  
troubles, and, consequently, to the effu-  
sion



sion of so much innocent blood; and it has pleased Divine Providence to incline the minds of both parties to cause their plenipotentiaries to meet, in order to treat of and conclude a sincere, firm, and lasting peace, and an eternal friendship between the two states, their provinces, countries, vassals, subjects and inhabitants; namely, M. John Liliensted, counsellor to his majesty the king of Sweden, and baron Otto Rheinhol Stromfeld, director of the copper mines, on the part of his said majesty; and on the part of his Czarish majesty, count Jacob Daniel Bruce, his aid-de-camp, general, president of the colleges of mines and minerals, and manufactures, and knight of the order of St. Andrew and the White Eagle, and M. Henry John Frederic Osterman, privy-counsellor to his Czarish majesty; and the said ministers plenipotentiaries, being met at Neustat, have exchanged their powers; and after imploring the divine assistance, they have set about this important and most salutary work, and through God's grace  
and

## 302 ARTICLES OF PEACE.

and blessing, they have concluded the following peace between the crown of Sweden and his Czarish majesty.

ART. I. There shall be from the present time, and for ever, an inviolable peace by sea and land, also a sincere union and indissoluble friendship, between his majesty Frederic I, king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, his successors to the crown and kingdom of Sweden, his dominions, provinces, countries, towns, vassals, subjects and inhabitants, both within the Roman empire, as without the said empire, on one part; and his Czarish majesty, Peter I. emperor of all Russia, &c. and his successors to the throne of Russia, and all his countries, towns, vassals, subjects and inhabitants, on the other part: so that for the future, the said two parties shall not commit, or allow to be committed, any hostility, secretly or publicly, directly, or indirectly, either by their own people or others; neither shall they give any assistance to the enemies of either of the

the two parties, under any pretence whatever, and shall not contract with them any alliance contrary to this peace; but shall ever keep up a sincere friendship with each other, and shall endeavour reciprocally to maintain the honour, advantage and security of each; also as far as shall lie in their power, to avert any disturbances or damages with which either of the two parties may be threatened by any other power.

II. There shall likewise be, on both sides, a general amnesty of the hostilities committed during the war; whether by arms or otherwise, that they shall never be remembered or revenged: particularly with regard to all persons in offices, and subjects of any nation whatever, who, during the war, have entered into the service of either of the two parties, and who in so doing have become enemies to the other party, excepting the Russian Cossacks who have gone over into the service of the king of Sweden, his Czarish majesty refusing to allow, that they should be included in  
this



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this general amnesty, notwithstanding all the instances of the king of Sweden in their behalf.

III. All hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease here, and in the great dutchy of Finland, within fifteen days, or sooner, if possible, after the signature of this peace; but in other places, within three weeks, or sooner, if possible, after the necessary exchanges on both sides: in order to this, the conclusion of the peace shall immediately be made public, and in case any hostility of what denomination soever should be committed by sea or land, on either side, from an ignorance of the peace being concluded, that shall not in the least affect the conclusion of this peace; and both men and effects, taken or carried away after that term, are to be restored.

IV. His majesty the king of Sweden, by these presents, both for himself and his successors to the throne and kingdom of Sweden, cedes to his Czarish majesty, and his successors to the empire of Russia, in full,

full, irrevocable, and eternal possession, the provinces which have been conquered and taken in this war by his Czarish majesty's arms from the crown of Sweden, Livonia, Estonia, Ingria, and part of Carelia; also the district of the fief of Wiburg, specified underneath in the article for settling the limits; the towns and fortresses of Riga, Dunamünde, Pernau, Revel, Dorpt, Nerva, Wiburg, Kexholm, with the other towns and fortresses, harbours, places, districts, coasts and shores belonging to the said provinces; as likewise the islands of Oesel, Dagoe, Moen, and all the other islands from the frontiers of Courland along the coasts of Livonia, Estonia and Ingria, and eastward of Revel on the sea, which runs to Wiburg towards the south and east; with all the inhabitants dwelling in those islands, and in the above-mentioned provinces, towns and places; and all their appurtenances, dependences, prerogatives, rights and emoluments, without any exception, as they were possessed by the crown of Sweden.

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Accordingly his majesty the king of Sweden, for ever, and in the most solemn manner, renounces both for himself and his successors, and for the whole kingdom of Sweden, all pretensions which they ever had, or may have, to the said provinces, islands, countries, and places, and of which all the inhabitants shall by these presents be discharged from the oath taken to the crown of Sweden; so that from this time his majesty and the kingdom of Sweden shall no longer have any claim to them, nor even require them again, under any pretence whatever; but they shall be, and for ever remain incorporated with the empire of Russia: and his majesty and the kingdom of Sweden, by these presents, engage to leave and maintain for ever to his Czarish majesty, and his successors to the empire of Russia, in the peaceable possession of the said provinces, islands, countries and places; and search shall be made for all records and papers, principally relating to those countries, which have been removed into Sweden during the war; and they



they shall be delivered to such persons as his Czarish majesty shall authorize.

V. His Czarish majesty engages, and promises in exchange to restore and evacuate to his majesty and the crown of Sweden, within the term of four weeks after the exchange of the ratification of the treaty of peace, or sooner if it be possible, the great dutchy of Finland, except the part reserved underneath in the settlement of the limits which shall belong to his Czarish majesty; so that his Czarish majesty, and his successors, shall neither have nor make any claim to the said dutchy, on any pretence whatsoever. Farther, his Czarish majesty binds himself, and promises to cause to be paid speedily, assuredly, and without any deduction, the sum of two millions of crowns, to the delegates of the king of Sweden, on their producing and giving valid receipts, at the fixed terms, and in such sorts of specie agreed on in a separate article, which is equally of the same force, as if inserted here *verbatim*.

VI. The king of Sweden has also reserved to himself, relatively to commerce, a perpetual permission of causing grain to be annually bought at Riga, Revel, and Arensburg, to the amount of fifty thousand rubles; which grain shall be exported from the said places to Sweden, without paying custom, or any other duty, on a certificate by which it shall appear, that the said grain has been bought on his Swedish majesty's account, or by persons commissioned by his Swedish majesty for such purchase; which however is not to be understood of such years, when, through the failure of the harvest, or for any other important cause, his Czarish majesty shall be under a necessity of prohibiting the exportation of grain to any part or country whatever.

VII. His Czarish majesty also promises, in the most solemn manner, that he will not interfere in the domestic concerns of the kingdom of Sweden, nor with the form of government which has been settled and established by oath, and the unanimous assent

assent of the states of the said kingdom ; that he will, in no wise, neither directly nor indirectly, assist any person or persons whatever, but will endeavour to prevent and hinder any thing contrary thereto, provided it comes to the knowledge of his Czarish majesty ; thus giving evident marks of sincere friendship, as becomes a good neighbour.

VIII. And the intention of both parties being to make a firm, sincere and lasting peace ; and it being very necessary, in order thereto, so to settle and determine the limits, that neither of the two parties may give umbrage to the other, but each peaceably possess what has been ceded to him by this treaty of peace ; they have been pleased to declare, that from this time, and for ever, the two empires shall have the following limits, which begin on the north side of the Sinus Finicus, near Wickolax ; from whence they extend to within half a league of the sea-shore up the country, and to the distance of half a league of the sea, till facing Villa Yiochi,



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and thence further up the country; so that from the side towards the sea opposite to Rohall, there shall be a distance of three quarters of a league in a diametrical line, to the road going from Wiburg to Lapstrand, at the distance of three leagues from Wiburg, and which, in the same difference of three leagues, goes northward through Wiburg, in a diametrical line as far as the ancient limits between Russia and Sweden, before the reduction of Kexholm fief under the dominion of the king of Sweden. These ancient limits are eight leagues in extent northward; thence in a diametrical line they cross Kexholm fief, to the place where the sea of Porogeroi, which begins near the village of Kudumagube, touches the ancient limits between Russia and Sweden; so that his majesty the king and the kingdom of Sweden shall for ever possess all the country lying east and north of the specified limits; and his Czarish majesty and the empire of Russia shall for ever possess all the country east and south on this side those limits. And as  
his

his Czarish majesty thus absolutely cedes to the king and the kingdom of Sweden, a part of Kexholm fief, which formerly belonged to the empire of Russia, he promises in the most solemn manner, for himself and his successors to the throne of Russia, that he neither will, or can ever reclaim this part of Kexholm fief under any pretence whatsoever; but the said part shall be, and for ever remain incorporated with the kingdom of Sweden. As to the limits in the countries of the Lapmarks, they shall continue on the same footing as they were before the beginning of this war between the two empires. It is farther agreed to appoint commissaries on each side, immediately after the ratification of the principal treaty, to settle the limits in the manner above-mentioned.

IX. His Czarish majesty further promises to maintain all the inhabitants of the provinces of Livonia, Estonia, and Oesel, nobles or commons, towns, magistrates, and trading companies, in the entire enjoyment of the privileges, cus-

toms, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed under the dominion of the king of Sweden.

X. There shall be no constraint of conscience in the countries which have been ceded, but the evangelical religion, together with the churches, schools, and other appurtenances, shall be continued on the same footing they were in the time of the late king of Sweden, on condition that the free exercise of the Greek religion be also admitted there.

XI. As to the reduction and liquidation made in the time of the preceding government of the king of Sweden, in Livonia, Estonia, and Oesel, to the great damage of the subjects and inhabitants of that country (which together with the equity of the affair itself, induced the late king of Sweden, of glorious memory, to give a formal assurance, in a proclamation published the 13th of April, 1700, *that if any of his subjects could truly prove any of the lands confiscated to be theirs, justice should be done to them; and accordingly,*  
many



many subjects of the said countries were restored to the possession of their lands, which had been confiscated) his Czarish majesty engages and promises likewise that justice shall be done to every one, whether living in or out of the country, who has a just claim on lands in Livonia, Estonia, or in the province of Oesel, and can duly make it appear, so that they shall be restored to the possession of their goods or lands.

XII. Agreeably to the amnesty which has been granted and settled above in Article II. restitution shall immediately be made to those persons of Livonia, Estonia, and the island of Oesel, who in this war have sided with the king of Sweden, of all the goods, lands and houses, which have been confiscated and given to others, both in the towns of those provinces, and those of Nerva and Wiburg, whither devolved to them during the war by inheritance or otherwise, without any exception or restriction; whether the proprietors be at present in Sweden, or in prison, or elsewhere,

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where, every one having first proved his claim before the government, by producing the vouchers of such right: but these proprietors shall not have any claim to the revenues which have been levied by others, during this war, and since the confiscation, nor any compensation for what they have suffered by war or otherwise. They who are thus restored to the possessions of their goods or lands, shall be obliged to do homage to his Czarish majesty, who from this time is their sovereign, and to behave in every respect as faithful vassals and subjects; after they shall have taken the usual oath, they shall be allowed to leave the country, and live elsewhere, among any of the friends and allies to the Russian empire, and to enter into the service of neutral powers, or to continue in it, if they are already engaged in such service, according as they shall think fit. But as to those who will not do homage to his Czarish majesty, the fixed term of three years, after the publication of the peace, is allowed them to sell their goods, lands, and

and whatever belongs to them in the best manner they shall be able, without paying more than what by the ordinances and statutes of the country every one is to pay. In case any inheritance shall hereafter, according to the laws of the country, devolve to any one, and that he has not taken the oath of fidelity to his Czarish majesty, he shall be obliged to take such oath, at his taking possession of such inheritance, or to dispose of it in the space of a year.

Likewise they, who have advanced money on lands lying in Livonia, Estonia, and the isle of Oezel, and who, in consideration thereof, have received legal obligations, shall peaceably enjoy their mortgages, till they are payed both capital and interest; but these mortgages shall not have any claim to interests become due during the war, and which perhaps are not raised: but they who in either case have the management of the said lands, shall be obliged to do homage to his Czarish majesty. All this is likewise to be understood of those remaining under the dominion



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dominion of his Czarish majesty, who shall have the same liberty to dispose of their lands and effects in Sweden, and the countries ceded to Sweden by this peace. Farther, the subjects of the two parties now entering on a peace, who have just claims in the countries of the two powers, whether on the public or private persons, shall have speedy justice done them; and every one thus shall be placed and replaced in possession of what rightfully belongs to them.

XIII. All contributions in money in the great dutchy of Finland, which according to Article V. his Czarish majesty restores to his majesty the king and the kingdom of Sweden, reckoning from the date of the signing this treaty, shall cease; but the provisions and forages necessary to his Czarish majesty's troops shall be there furnished gratis, till the said dutchy be totally evacuated, on the same footing as has hitherto been practised; and it shall be forbidden and prohibited, under very severe penalties, to carry off at their departure any

any ministers or peasants of Finland against their will, or to do them any hurt or damage. Farther, all the fortresses and castles of Finland shall be left in the same condition they are in at present; but his Czarish majesty shall be allowed, at evacuating the said country and places, to carry away all the great and small cannon, their implements, together with the magazines and all military stores whatever, which his Czarish majesty had sent thither. For this and the removal of the army's baggage, the inhabitants shall furnish gratis, the necessary horses and carriages, as far as the frontiers: even if this cannot be executed within the term stipulated, and there shall be a necessity of leaving a part behind, it shall be carefully kept, and afterwards delivered up at any time, to such persons as shall be authorized by his Czarish majesty; and the said part shall be carried, as above, to the frontiers. In case the troops of his Czarish majesty have found and sent out of the country any records and papers relating to the great duchy of  
Finland,

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Finland, he will cause a strict search to be made after those, and faithfully restore all which shall be found, to such persons as his majesty the king of Sweden shall impower.

XIV. All the prisoners on both sides, of whatever country, rank, or condition, shall be immediately set at liberty, after the ratification of this treaty of peace, without paying any ransom; but every one must previously discharge what debts he may have contracted, or give sufficient security for the payment of them. At the time fixed for their departure, they shall on both sides be furnished gratis with necessary horses and carriages, according to the distance of the places where they now are. As to such prisoners who have entered into the service of either side, or who intend to remain in the dominions of one or the other party, it shall be permitted to them indiscriminately. This is likewise to be understood of all who have on both sides been carried away from their dwellings, who may also continue where they



they are, or return home; except those who have, of their own accord, embraced the Greek religion, such being his Czarish majesty's pleasure; to which end both parties shall cause edicts to be published and set up in their dominions.

XV. His majesty and the republic of Poland, as allies of his Czarish majesty, are expressly included in this peace, and their accession to it reserved in the same manner, as if the treaty of peace to be renewed between them and the crown of Sweden had been here inserted word for word. To this end, all hostilities, of what denomination soever, shall cease every where, in all the kingdoms, countries, and territories belonging to the two parties now entered on a peace, and lying both in or out of the Roman empire; and there shall be a firm and lasting peace between the said two crowns. And as no minister plenipotentiary from his majesty and the republic of Poland has assisted at the congress of peace held at Neustat, and thus the peace between his majesty the king  
of

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of Poland and the crown of Sweden could not be renewed at the same time by a solemn treaty, his majesty the king of Sweden engages and promises, when the place of a congress shall be agreed on, to send his plenipotentiaries to enter on the conferences, that under the mediation of his Czarish majesty, a permanent peace may be concluded between those two kings; provided that nothing shall be contained therein, which may affect this treaty of perpetual peace made with his Czarish majesty.

XVI. The freedom of trade by sea and land, between the two powers, their dominions, subjects, and inhabitants, shall be settled and confirmed as soon as possible by a separate treaty on this head, to the advantage of the dominions on both sides: yet in the mean time, as soon as this treaty of peace shall be ratified, the Russian and Swedish subjects may freely traffick in the empire of Russia and kingdom of Sweden, paying the usual duties on the several sorts of merchandize, so that the subjects of

Russia and Sweden shall reciprocally enjoy all the same privileges and prerogatives, which are allowed to the greatest friends of those states.

XVII. On the conclusion of the peace, there shall be not only a restitution on both sides, to the subjects of Russia and Sweden, of the warehouses, which they had before the commencement of the war in certain trading towns belonging to those two powers, but they shall likewise be allowed to set up warehouses in the towns, harbours, and other places, under the dominion of his Czarish majesty and the king of Sweden.

XVIII. In case any Swedish men of war or merchant ships shall be stranded or wrecked by bad weather, or any other accident, on the coasts and shores of Russia, the subjects of his Czarish majesty shall be obliged to give them all manner of succour and assistance to save the crews, and the effects, to the utmost of their ability, and faithfully to restore, if claimed, whatever has been cast on the land, for a suitable



reward. The subjects of his majesty the king of Sweden shall do the like to the Russian ships and effects, under the like misfortune, on the coast of Sweden: for which end, and to prevent any outrage, theft, or pillage, usually committed on such calamitous accidents, his Czarish majesty, and the king of Sweden, shall issue a very strict prohibition on this article, and cause delinquents to be exemplarily punished.

XIX. In order likewise, as far as possible, to prevent by sea every occasion which may give rise to any misunderstanding between the two parties now entering on a peace, it is agreed and concluded, that one or more Swedish ships of war, whether small or large, henceforth passing by one of his Czarish majesty's fortresses, they shall salute with their cannon, and the salute is immediately to be returned in the like manner by the Russian fortress; and, *vice versa*, one or more Russian ships of war, whether small or large, passing by a fortress of his majesty the king of Sweden, they shall salute with  
their

their cannon, and the Swedish fortrefs shall immediately make a return. When Swedish and Ruffian ships meet at sea, or in any harbour or other place, they shall give each other the usual falute, in the same manner as practised in like case between Sweden and Denmark.

XX. It is agreed on both fides, no longer to defray the ministers expences of both powers as before; their ministers plenipotentiaries, and envoys, with or without character, being henceforth to find themselves and all their retinue, both on their journey, and at the court whither they are sent to reside. But either of the two parties receiving timely advice of the coming of an envoy, shall order his subjects to give the envoy assistance in whatever he may stand in need of for safely continuing his journey.

XXI. On the part of his majesty, the king of Sweden, is likewise included, in this treaty of peace, his majesty the king of Great Britain, excepting the difficulties subsisting between his Czarish majesty

and the said king, which shall be directly discussed, and endeavours used for an amicable accommodation. Likewise other powers, as named by the two parties, shall be allowed the space of three months for acceding to this treaty of peace.

XXII. Any difference arising between the states and subjects of Sweden and Russia, shall not derogate from this perpetual treaty of peace, which is to have and preserve its whole force and effect; and commissioners shall immediately be appointed on both sides, to examine, and equitably terminate the said difference.

XXIII. Likewise from the present time, all who have been guilty of treason, murder, theft, and other crimes, and who have gone from Sweden into Russia, and from Russia into Sweden, alone, or with wives and children, shall, if the party injured of the country from whence they escaped, so demand, be delivered up, of what nation soever they be, and in the same condition they were in at their arrival, with women and children, and likewise with all  
that



that they had carried off, stolen, or plundered.

XXIV. The exchange of the ratifications of this instrument of peace shall be made at Neustat, within the space of three weeks, reckoning from the signing of it, or sooner if possible. In witness of all the premises, two copies of the same tenor of this treaty of peace have been drawn up, and confirmed by the ministers plenipotentiaries on both sides, pursuant to the powers which they had received from their masters, under their hands and seals. Given at Neustat, August 30, 1721, O. S. from the birth of our Saviour.

John-Liliensted.

Otto-Reinhold Stroemfeld.

Jacob-Daniel Bruce.

Henry-John-Frederic Osterman.

PROCLAMATION

OF

The EMPEROR PETER I.

*For the Coronation of the Empress Catharine.*

WE PETER I. emperor and sole  
monarch of all Russia, &c. To  
all ecclesiastics, civil and military  
officers, and others of the Russian nation,  
our faithful subjects. It is universally  
known to have been the constant and  
perpetual established custom in Christian  
monarchies, for potentates to cause their  
consorts to be crowned, as is practised at  
present, and several times in former ages,  
by the emperors of the orthodox Grecian  
faith; namely, the emperor Basilides, who  
caused

CATHARINE'S CORONATION. 327

caused his consort Zenobia to be crowned; the emperor Justinian, his consort Lupicina; the emperor Heraclius, his consort Martinia; the emperor Leo, the philosopher, his consort Maria; and several others, who have likewise caused the imperial crown to be put on the head of their consorts; but whom we shall make no mention of here, as that would carry us too far.

It is also known how far we have exposed our own person, and faced the greatest dangers in our country's cause, during the whole course of last war, twenty one years successively, and which, by God's assistance, we have terminated with such honour and advantage, that Russia never saw a like peace, nor gained that glory which has accrued to it by this war. The empress Catharine, our dearly beloved consort, was of great help to us in all these dangers, not only in the said war, but likewise in other expeditions, in which, notwithstanding the natural weakness of her sex, she voluntarily accompanied us, and



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greatly assisted us with her advice, particularly at the battle of the river Pruth, against the Turks, where our army was reduced to 22000 men, and that of the Turks consisted of 270,000. It was in this desperate exigency, that she especially signalized a zeal and fortitude above her sex; and to this all the army, and the whole empire, can bear witness. For these causes, and in virtue of the power which God hath given us, we have resolved, in acknowledgment of all her fatigues and good offices, to honour our consort with the imperial crown, which, by God's permission, shall be accomplished this winter at Moscow; and of this resolution we hereby give notice to all our faithful subjects, our imperial affection towards whom is unalterable.

E N D,



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